

***Horace Nicholls: Artist, Journalist,
Propagandist, Opportunist***

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Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Abstract

During the early twentieth century, Horace Nicholls (1867-1941) was one of Britain's best-known photographers. After working as a portrait photographer in Chile and Windsor, Nicholls moved to South Africa where he photographed the 2nd Anglo-Boer War. In 1902, Nicholls returned to Britain, where he established his reputation as a photojournalist. Working from his home in Ealing, he supplied illustrated magazines with photographs of Edwardian social and sporting events.

In 1917 Nicholls was appointed by the Department of Information to take photographs for propagandist purposes. In this role, he documented the impact of total war on the British people. It was at this time that Nicholls first came into contact with the Imperial War Museum (IWM). The result of this association, a series of photographs entitled *Women at War*, contains some of his finest work.

After the war, Nicholls became the IWM's Chief Photographer, where he worked to secure and develop the museum's photographic collections and documented commemorative activities.

Today, while many of Nicholls' photographs are familiar, little is known about the man who took them. There has been relatively little research into his work for thirty years. Nicholls' archive is now dispersed – a factor which has contributed to his lack of public recognition. This thesis draws extensively on the three major archives of Nicholls' work – The Royal Photographic Society Collection (now at the Victoria & Albert Museum), the IWM and the Nicholls family archive.

Nicholls enjoyed a long, prolific and varied career. The temporal range and divergent subject matter of the photographs for which he is now best known has meant that these bodies of work have usually been considered in isolation. In contrast, this thesis embraces a holistic approach to Nicholls' photography, identifying and exploring themes which are evident throughout his career – such as copyright, commercial opportunism, and the financial imperative.

For this thesis, I have adopted a rigorous, empirical, photo-historical methodology, within a chronological, biographical framework. With Nicholls, this biographical structure provides far more than just a chronological backdrop. For Nicholls, photography was much more than just a career; Photography permeated every aspect of his life, blurring the boundaries between public and private, personal and professional. I contend that the role of photography in Nicholls' life was so central and Nicholls' personal life and his photographic work are so intertwined that one cannot meaningfully examine one without understanding the other.

This empirical approach, using a detailed analysis of archival sources, provides valuable insights into Nicholls' work, revealing information about his working practices and choice of subjects which challenge several perceived assumptions regarding aspects of his photography.

While the focus of the thesis concerns Nicholls and his work, Nicholls' life forms a valuable case study for examining broader issues relating to the history of photography, tracking the evolution of photographic careers and informing current debates on themes such as war photography and the development of photojournalism.

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I should also like to express my sincere gratitude to Horace Nicholls' grandson, David Mallinson. David welcomed me into his home and shared with me the contents of the family archive which he now looks after. David, quite rightly, is immensely proud of his grandfather. I hope that this thesis does justice to his life and legacy. Again, without David's help this thesis could not have been written.

This thesis is empirical in its approach. Subsequently, my research has entailed visits to many museums, archives and libraries. Foremost among these are the primary repositories of Nicholls' archive – the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Imperial War Museum. I have also spent many fruitful days at the National Archives in Kew and the British Library in London and Boston Spa. Much valuable information has also been discovered in several local history archives. I should like to thank the staff of the reading rooms of these institutions (far too many to mention individually, unfortunately) for their help and advice.

Last, but certainly not least, I should like to thank my wife, Judith, and children, Rachael and Tom, for putting up with my seeming obsession with a dead photographer when I could have been spending quality time with them instead.

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Introduction

In *The Golden Summer*, the only published monograph on the work of Horace Nicholls, Gail Buckland writes:

A study of the life of an artist...does enrich the understanding of the work. Motivations, aspirations, passions and forces working on an individual become defined...A biography of an artist, brief or intensive, is a backdrop to the work and makes for a fuller encounter with the art.¹

As an historical approach, however, the value of biography has been questioned:

For a long time, academic historians have been somewhat ambivalent about the genre of biography. While most certainly recognize it as a legitimate and venerable mode of historical discourse, many are skeptical of the capacity of biography to convey the kind of analytically sophisticated interpretation of the past that academics have long expected.²

A structure based on biography rather than a thematic or analytical framework might therefore be regarded as an unconventional, even an inappropriate format for a PhD thesis. However, in Nicholls' case, a biographical structure provides more than just a chronological backdrop; it creates a framework for examining broader issues relating to the history of photography since his photographic career was not neatly bounded within a professional domain but overlapped his private and personal life. To Nicholls, photography was much more than just a way of earning a living. Photography permeated every aspect of his life, blurring the boundaries between public and private and personal and professional. Photography was in Horace

¹ Gail Buckland, *The Golden Summer: The Edwardian Photographs of Horace W. Nicholls*, London: Pavilion Books, 1989, p.112. Buckland is a former curator of the Royal Photographic Society and was the first person to promote greater awareness of Nicholls' work following the acquisition of his archive by the RPS in 1961.

² David Nasaw, 'Historians and Biography', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 3, June 2009, p. 573.

Nicholls' blood. He was born and grew up in a photographic studio. His father and uncle were both photographers. At least three of his siblings were photographers. When he met his wife, she was working as a photographer's assistant.

Subsequently, he taught all of his children photography. The links between Nicholls' life and his photographic work are so intertwined that one cannot meaningfully examine one without understanding the other.

As well as reflecting central and dominant role photography played in Nicholls' life, a biographical approach also recognises the longevity and diversity of Nicholls' photographic career. In addition to his personal significance as a photographer, a study of Nicholls' career forms a valuable case study allowing us to track the evolution of photography as a career and profession over an extended period. He learnt photography in the 1870s when the collodion process was dominant; but by the end of his life he was using a Leica camera. His varied career encompassed commercial studio portraiture, small scale publishing, war photography, public lecturing, freelance newspaper, magazine and book illustration, propaganda photography and museum record photography. Historically, their temporal range and divergent subject matter has meant that these bodies of work have usually been considered in isolation. However, a holistic, biographical, approach to Nicholls' photography allows us to identify themes which are evident throughout his career, revealing insights into his evolving working practice within the broader context of themes within the history of photography.

Whilst adopting a broad biographical and chronological approach, at relevant points the thesis will depart from the narrative to examine these specific themes to consider how they inform current debates in the history of photography.

These themes include, photographic copyright, the tension between the documentary and pictorial aesthetic, representation of war and atrocity, the use of manipulation and photo-montage techniques, the importance of opportunism, responses to new technologies of image capture and reproduction, patriotism, militarism and imperialism, the centrality of family and the overlap between Nicholls'

personal life and his professional practice, and the importance of opportunism and financial imperatives in shaping his career.

Nicholls' registration of his photographs for copyright under the terms of the 1862 Copyright Act, his membership of the Photographic Copyright Union and his subsequent legal action for copyright infringement against the publishers of *The Golden Penny* constitute a useful case study in the history of copyright protection of the visual arts.³ (Chapter Three)

Nicholls' work in South Africa and, later, for the Department of Information, allows us to examine the development of the vocabularies of war photography and photography in a time of war. His photographs of the South African War and his public lecture tour helped to shape contemporary public perception of warfare. (Chapter Three)

Nicholls' work as an early photojournalist, supplying images to the illustrated press informs the debate regarding the emergence and impact of the photomechanically reproduced image resulting in the huge expansion of published photographic imagery during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods.⁴ Nicholls' work provides many case studies illustrating the evolving nature of photomechanical reproduction and the emergence of hybrid hand-drawn and photographic imagery. His freelance status also allows us to explore the commercial history of press photography. (Chapter Four)

Central to Nicholls' work is the debate regarding the 'truthfulness' of photography, and the tension between the pictorial and documentary aesthetic. This issue first emerges in his photographs of the South African War – "I have made it my great aim...to produce a series of photographs which would appeal to the artistic sense of the most fastidious, knowing that they must as photographs have the enhanced value of being truthful" – but are most pertinently illustrated by Nicholls' later

³The significance of this court case has been misinterpreted and exaggerated but it is mentioned *passim* in Elena Cooper's recently published *Art and Modern Copyright: The Contested Image*, the first in-depth and longitudinal study of the history of copyright protecting the visual arts. Elena Cooper, *Art and Modern Copyright: The Contested Image*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

⁴ For this publishing revolution, see Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

extensive use of photomontage to create 'studies' for the illustrated press. His self-identification as an 'artist' as well as a 'journalist' also has implications for the perceived status of his First World War photographs as historical documents.⁵

Nicholls' documentation of the Home Front during the First World War, notably his photographs of women's war work, allows us to explore the role of propaganda and the impact of war on civilians. Nicholls' work for officially produced magazines such as *War Pictorial* has not been recognised or researched. Also, the inclusion of his photographs in contemporary exhibitions, both national and international, informs the creation of a popular perception and narrative of the war.⁶ (Chapter Five)

Nicholls' role at the Imperial War Museum illustrates the complex, plural nature of photography, and the shifting ground between, journalism, propaganda, documentation and commemoration.⁷ (Chapter Six)

An examination of Nicholls' life forms a valuable opportunity to explore the diversity of photographic work undertaken during one person's career, revealing the interactions between what are often seen as different domains of photography and hence are rarely studied together.

The existing published literature presents a fragmentary picture of Nicholls' life and career.

For over three decades, following his death in 1941, Nicholls' work remained virtually unknown. The Imperial War Museum's policy was not to credit photographers whose work was held in their collection, thereby effectively rendering them invisible.⁸

⁵ For photo-manipulation, see Mia Fineman, *Faking It: Manipulated Photography Before Photoshop*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012. See also, Martyn Jolly, 'Composite Propaganda Photographs during the First World War', *History of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2003, pp. 154-165.

⁶ For a recently published survey, see Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

⁷ See Elizabeth Edwards, *Uncertain Images: Museums and the Work of Photographs*, London: Routledge, 2017, Jay Winter, *War Beyond Words*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

⁸ This policy still remains in effect in many cases. See, for example, Samantha Heywood and Nigel Steel, *The WW1 Centenary Exhibition*, London: Imperial War Museum, 2015 and Terry Charman, *The First World War on the Home Front*, London: Andre Deutsch, 2014.

With the exception of the material held by the IWM, most of Nicholls' archive was retained by his youngest daughter, Margaret (Peg) and her husband, Col. Bernard Mallinson. In 1961, the Mallinsons donated to the Royal Photographic Society:

...a valuable and varied collection of negatives and prints selected from the life work of Horace W. Nicholls which includes a wealth of material covering the South African Campaign, London views 1895/1900, the Derby Races over many years, and other selected works, providing an important addition to the Society's Collection.⁹

Initially, little was done with this material.¹⁰ This changed, however, following the appointment of Gail Buckland in February 1971 as Assistant Curator of the RPS Collection.¹¹ Buckland first came across Nicholls' work when she was helping to compile a catalogue of the RPS Collection. Not having previously heard of Nicholls, she was astonished by the quality of his photographs and sought to know more about this 'unknown' photographer.

In January 1973, an article about Nicholls, written by Buckland, appeared in *The Photographic Journal*. This was the first in a series of articles designed to raise awareness of photographers in the RPS Collection whose 'work might be superb and their contributions to photography great, but their names and their images become obscured through the passing of the years'.¹² Buckland's choice of Nicholls as the first photographer to represent 'the wonderful world of the "unknown"' is a testament to her conviction that she had 'discovered' a photographer of significance and is the

⁹*The Photographic Journal*, August, 1961, p. 263.

¹⁰A notable exception was a loan of over 200 of Nicholls' negatives to Elstree Studios in 1963. Cecil Beaton used these as visual references when designing his Oscar-winning costumes for the 1964 film, *My Fair Lady*. A set of prints made from them was presented to the RPS by Elstree Studios. At the time, Beaton, apparently, did not know the name of the photographer whose work he admired. See Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 15.

¹¹See Margaret F. Harker, *The Society's Collection*, *The Photographic Journal*, March, 1971, pp. 120-128. Buckland was originally employed on a twelve month contract, working for three days a week at the RPS and two days a week at the Science Museum, assisting Dr David Thomas with preparation for the Arts Council photographic exhibition, *From Today Painting is Dead: The Beginnings of Photography*, which opened at the V & A in March 1972. One month after the exhibition opened, Buckland was employed by the RPS full-time. See *The Photographic Journal*, April, 1972, p.123.

¹²Gail Buckland, 'Horace Walter Nicholls. Women at War 1914', *The Photographic Journal*, January, 1973, pp. 35-37.

foundation of her reputation as ‘the first person to draw critical attention to Nicholls’ work’.¹³

Nicholls’ photographs were now considered to be a significant part of the RPS Collection. For Christmas 1973, RPS members could buy collotype prints of Nicholls’ photographs as presents, alongside work by more celebrated names, including Julia Margaret Cameron, Alvin Langdon Coburn, Frederick Evans and P H Emerson.¹⁴

In March 1973, Gail Buckland had met Cecil Beaton when he gave a lecture to the RPS.¹⁵ Beaton already knew of Nicholls’ photographs (even if at the time he might not have known the name of the photographer who took them) from his work for *My Fair Lady*. Given Buckland’s newfound interest in Nicholls, it seems very likely that his work came up as a topic of conversation.¹⁶ This meeting marked the start of the collaboration between Beaton and Buckland that led two years later to the publication of their co-authored survey of the history of photography, *The Magic Image: The Genius of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*.¹⁷

Buckland wrote of this book:

We resurrected forgotten masters...We chose to salute those we most admired and reproduced inspiring examples of their work...Cecil suggested that if either of us were ardent about any individual photographer or picture. It would be included.¹⁸

Horace Nicholls was included among the 200 photographers selected by Beaton and Buckland for their pantheon of photographic history. As his greatest advocate, Nicholls had clearly been chosen by Buckland. In the introduction to her entry on Nicholls, she writes:

¹³Information about the author on the dust jacket of *The Golden Summer*.

¹⁴See *The Photographic Journal*, December, 1973, p.613. Two photographs by Nicholls were available – *All Together Boys* and *A Scene at the Course, Derby Day*. All the other photographers were represented by just one photograph.

¹⁵Gail Buckland, ‘Sir Cecil Beaton at the RPS’, *The Photographic Journal*, July 1973, pp. 328-331.

¹⁶Beaton had used Nicholls’ photographs as references when designing his Oscar-winning costumes for the 1964 film, *My Fair Lady*. See earlier footnote.

¹⁷Cecil Beaton and Gail Buckland, *The Magic Image: The Genius of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975. By the autumn of 1974 the catalogue of the RPS Collection was nearly complete. Faced with an urgent need to economise at the time, the RPS made Buckland’s job as Assistant Curator redundant

¹⁸Gail Buckland, Preface to the paperback edition of *The Magic Image*, London: Pavilion Books, 1989, p.7.

Horace Walter Nicholls - a name probably unfamiliar to most people knowledgeable about the history of photography. Yet, in my opinion, he was one of England's greatest photographers. His photographs radiate human warmth; they are alive. I know of no one who has seen them who has not been touched by their beauty, humour or sensitivity.¹⁹

After decades of obscurity, Nicholls' star was now in the ascendancy.

In 1977, sixteen years after their initial donation of material, Col. and Mrs Mallinson donated the bulk of what remained of Nicholls' archive, including over 10,000 glass negatives to the RPS, with the family retaining just a small selection.²⁰

In 1980, Nicholls' photographs received the RPS's official imprimatur of being amongst their 'treasures' when they were included in Tom Hopkinson's survey publication *Treasures of the Royal Photographic Society, 1839-1919*.²¹ Hopkinson's book was published in April that year. The previous month, Hopkinson, in an article in the *Sunday Times Magazine* went so far as to predict that 'Horace Nicholls will be recognised as one of the greatest twentieth century photographers'.²²

Some of Nicholls' photographs had been shown in survey exhibitions during the 1970s. Ian Jeffrey and David Mellor, for example, included photographs by Nicholls from both the RPS and IWM collections in the touring exhibition they curated for the Arts Council in 1975, *The Real Thing*.²³ It was not until 1981, however, that the first monograph exhibition of Nicholls' work was staged. Entitled *The Enhanced Value:*

¹⁹Cecil Beaton and Gail Buckland, *The Magic Image: The Genius of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975, p.126.

²⁰*The Photographic Journal*, May/June, 1977, p. 141. 'A major addition during the year was the entire Horace W. Nicholls Collection acquired through the generosity of the family of this outstanding photographer'. This donation was made for pragmatic as well as altruistic reasons. The Mallinsons had recently relocated to a smaller house and did not have enough room to store all of the negatives – 'It was all right while we were living in the Dower House at Ditchley Park – There was room for them there'. *The Oxford Mail*, 17 March, 1989, p.6.

²¹Tom Hopkinson, *Treasures of The Royal Photographic Society 1839-1919*, London: Heinemann, 1980. Hopkinson was a former picture editor of *Picture Post* and *Drum* magazines.

²²Quoted in Rob Powell, 'Levels of Truth: The life and work of Horace Nicholls', *The British Journal of Photography*, 26 June, 1981, p.642.

²³Ian Jeffrey and David Mellor, *The Real Thing: An Anthology of British Photographs 1840-1950*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1975. The exhibition opened at the Hayward Gallery London in March 1975 and toured to venues in Sheffield, Bolton, Birmingham and Bristol.

Documentary Photographs by Horace Nicholls, this exhibition was curated by Les Shackell for Impressions Gallery in York, with the co-operation of the IWM and RPS.²⁴ Opening at Impressions Gallery in January, it toured to number of venues that year, including the RPS's recently-opened National Centre of Photography in Bath.²⁵ While, as the title suggests, this exhibition focussed on presenting Nicholls as 'a great documentary' photographer it included a wide range of work from different stages of his career. For those accustomed to a more compartmentalised view of photographic history this holistic approach was confusing. The review in *The Times* thought it to be 'A curious juxtaposition of the Boer War, women during the 1917 war and crowds at the Derby'.²⁶ Nicholls, however, with his long career that spanned several different genres and professional disciplines, did not slot easily into any of the standard categories in photographic history - a factor which undoubtedly contributed to his lack of recognition.

Rob Powell, writing in *The British Journal of Photography*, expressed surprise at the speed with which Nicholls' reputation had grown:

Horace Nicholls is not exactly a household name, not even in the houses of those who know something about the history of British photography...His name appears in none of the standard texts, and until very recently was never even taken into account in any assessments of the development of British photography. Now, after decades of almost total neglect, Horace Nicholls is beginning to resurface and his reputation seems set for a leap from one extreme to another...Who was this man who has apparently made this quick progress from nowhere to Olympus...? ²⁷

²⁴The exhibition title comes from a quotation by Nicholls concerning his photographs of the South African War - '...photographs have the enhanced value of being truthful'.

²⁵ Impressions Gallery archive is now housed at The National Science and Media Museum, Bradford. For *The Enhanced Value*, see File IMP/1/81. When the exhibition was being shown at The Photographers' Gallery, London, in June 1981, curator Les Shackell made an audio recording about Horace Nicholls. A copy of this is recording is now available at the British Library - C621/16/01;F3904.

²⁶*The Times*, 18 December, 1981.

²⁷Rob Powell, 'Levels of Truth: The life and work of Horace Nicholls', *The British Journal of Photography*, 26 June, 1981, p.642.

While recognising that the *The Enhanced Value* was ‘a very substantial first step towards a proper assessment of his (Nicholls’) contribution [to the history of photography]’ Powell felt that a lot more work needed to be done before Nicholls could justify the epithet of ‘great’ and that as far as Nicholls was concerned ‘the surface has only been scratched’.

During the 1980s, major contributions towards a greater understanding of official photography during the First World War, including the work of Horace Nicholls, were made by Jane Carmichael in her seminal book *First World War Photographers*, published in 1989, and Diana Condell and Jean Liddiard’s *Working for Victory: Images of women in the First World War 1914-1918*, published in 1987.

Meanwhile, Gail Buckland had maintained her interest in Nicholls’ work. In 1989 her book, *The Golden Summer: The Edwardian Photographs of Horace W. Nicholls*, was published.²⁸ As the title suggests, this concentrated on Nicholls’ photographs of Edwardian social and sporting events – ‘an eloquent testimony to the last golden Edwardian summer’.²⁹ At the end of the book, Buckland appended a biography of Nicholls, written with the help of information supplied by the Nicholls family, in particular, Col. Bernard Mallinson.³⁰ To coincide with the publication of *The Golden Summer*, the RPS staged a major exhibition of Nicholls’ work. *Horace Nicholls: Pioneer Photojournalist*, curated by Brian Coe, opened at the RPS’s National Photography Centre in Bath in February, 1989.³¹ Despite the fact that *The Enhanced Image*, shown at the RPS eight years earlier, had included a wide range of Nicholls’ work, Coe claimed that *Horace Nicholls: Pioneer Photojournalist* was the first exhibition to explore Nicholls’ complete oeuvre:

²⁸Gail Buckland, *The Golden Summer: The Edwardian Photographs of Horace W. Nicholls*, London: Pavilion, 1989. In her acknowledgements, Buckland attributes the genesis of the book to an invitation from the RPS – ‘The author would like to thank Mr. Kenneth Warr, Secretary of the Society, for remembering my keen interest in Nicholls since my days as Curator of the Society’s collection in the early 1970s and inviting me to write the book’. p.143.

²⁹Pavilion Books Ltd catalogue, books for January-June, 1989.

³⁰Horace Walter Nicholls (1867-1941) *A Life in Photography*, Gail Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, pp.112-142.

³¹A highly-respected photo-historian, Brian Coe was the former curator of the Kodak Museum in Harrow. Following the museum’s closure he was seconded to the RPS to become the Society’s curator. His salary continued to be paid by Kodak Ltd.

Although some of Nicholls' work has been seen before in books and exhibitions, the exhibition...is the first to cover the full range of his professional photography.' ³²

In an article written for the *Observer* magazine, Buckland also stressed what she regarded as the ground-breaking nature of her book and the accompanying exhibition:

Few photographers were more widely known than Horace W. Nicholls (1867-1941) during the Edwardian era, yet he has been sitting on the sidelines of photo-history ever since. A retrospective exhibition at the Royal Photographic Society in Bath, however, will move Nicholls to the first division. Some of his pictures are well known...but there has been little understanding of his career or recognition of his talent in bringing to life the spirit of his times. ³³

Coinciding with the publication of *The Golden Summer*, was the publication of a revised, paperback, edition of Beaton and Buckland's *The Magic Image*, originally published in 1975. Nicholls is still included in this personal survey of significant photographers. However, in the light of her subsequent research undertaken for *The Golden Summer*, Buckland has now revised and edited the introductory paragraph of her accompanying text on Nicholls, making it less effusive and more objective:

Horace Walter Nicholls, a name unfamiliar to even the cognoscenti of photo-history, yet one of Britain's most remarkable photographers. ³⁴

Nicholls, previously described by Buckland as 'one of England's greatest photographers' is now described as one of the 'most remarkable' – a subtle yet significant demotion in status suggesting that greater familiarity with a larger body of Nicholls' work had led to a reappraisal of his significance.

³²Brian Coe, 'Horace Nicholls: Pioneer Photojournalist', *The Photographic Journal*, February 1989, pp.66-68.

³³Gail Buckland, 'A Golden Summer Revisited', *The Observer Magazine*, 5 February, 1989, pp. 32-36.

³⁴Cecil Beaton and Gail Buckland, *The Magic Image: The Genius of Photography*, London: Pavilion Books, 1989, p. 126

Since the publication of *The Golden Summer* in 1989, while Nicholls' work continues to appear in books and exhibitions, there has been relatively little new research into Nicholls' work.³⁵ The temporal range and divergent subject matter of Nicholls' work has meant that individual bodies of work have usually been considered in isolation. While there has been excellent work on specific aspects of Nicholls' work by Suzannah Biernoff, Claire Bowen, Marcia Pointon, Jane Tynan and others, the existing published literature presents a fragmentary picture of Nicholls' life and career. Gail Buckland's biography of Nicholls in *The Golden Summer*, while still the most comprehensive published source is incomplete and, in some aspects, inaccurate.

By exploring an extensive range of archival sources, in addition to the main institutional and private collections of Nicholls' work, this thesis presents a rich narrative of Horace Nicholls' career founded on detailed empirical research. In adopting this empirical approach, I have been influenced by reading Elizabeth Anne McCauley's study of commercial photography in nineteenth century Paris and Billy Klüver's exploration of a series of photographs taken by Jean Cocteau in the summer of 1916.³⁶ McCauley draws on extensive archival documentation to analyse the business of photography – the ways studios were formed, products promoted and financial backers found. Klüver's empirical research – almost forensic in its detail – combining biographical research and a careful examination of what is captured in the photographs, together with scientific investigation (for example, he obtained details of the position of the sun on 12 August 1916 from the Bureau de Longitudes in Paris which, together with the length of shadows shown in the photographs, enabled him to calculate the exact time at which each photograph was taken, and thus to put them in their correct sequence) is a *tour de force*, allowing him to recreate the events of a single afternoon in Paris in the lives of Cocteau, Picasso and their friends. I have also taken inspiration from Christopher Morton's recent study of the

³⁵See, for example Pam Roberts, *Photogenic: From the Collection of The Royal Photographic Society*, London: Scriptum, 2001. I myself included Nicholls' work in *Drawn By Light: The Royal Photographic Society Collection*, an exhibition I curated in 2014 which was shown at Media Space, London and the National Media Museum, Bradford.

³⁶Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. Billy Klüver, *A Day with Picasso: Twenty-Four Photographs by Jean Cocteau*, Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1997.

work of E. E. Evans-Pritchard where he presents a new perspective on the work of one of the most important British anthropologists of the twentieth century by using his photographic archive as the starting point to rethink the way in which his personal encounters and experiences and their historical context shaped his photographic work.³⁷

My empirical methodology has also been shaped by recent developments regarding the growing recognition of the relevance and importance of economic, business and industrial history as a methodology for exploring crucial but often overlooked aspects of the history of photography. In adopting this methodology I have been encouraged and inspired by working closely with scholars such as Elizabeth Edwards, Kelley Wilder, Pippa Oldfield and Steve Edwards. As Steve Edwards has noted in his recent article *Why Pictures? From Art History to Business History and Back Again*: “Shifts are evidently taking place in the study of photography and we see a growing attention to business, industry and labour”.³⁸ In his article, Edwards identifies two events in particular as providing an important platform for photographic history employing this methodology - *Workers and Consumers: The Photographic Industry 1860–1950*, a conference organised by The Photographic History Research Centre at De Montfort University in 2013 and *The Business of War Photography: Producing and Consuming Images of Conflict*, held at the Centre for Visual Arts and Culture at Durham University in 2014.³⁹ The call for papers for *Workers and Consumers* outlined the scope and aims of the conference:

The history of photography has largely been dominated by concerns about aesthetic production and its political framings. Such ‘art historical’ approaches have marginalised the study of the economic base of the medium manifested through a developing photographic industry, its related trades and its

³⁷Christopher Morton, *The Anthropological Lens: Rethinking E.E.Evans-Pritchard*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

³⁸ Steve Edwards, ‘Why Pictures? From Art History to Business History and Back Again’, *History of Photography*, Vol.44, No.1, January 2020, pp. 3-15.

³⁹ *The Business of War Photography: Producing and Consuming Images of Conflict* https://www.academia.edu/19758901/The_Business_of_War_Photography_Producing_and_Consuming_Images_of_Conflict (accessed 30 March 2022).

mass consumers...the missing component in the analysis is often a detailed and empirically informed understanding of the social and economic conditions of product development, labour forces, marketing and consumer demand. This two-day conference aims to bring together a critical mass of research in this area, to explore the state of play in this overlooked but crucial aspect of history of photography, and to suggest new directions for research in the economic, business and industrial history of photography.⁴⁰

Similarly, as its title suggests, *The Business of War Photography* conference aimed to examine war photography not as something restricted to the activities of photojournalists but in an expanded sense - as the result of a nexus of pragmatic and strategic transactions and interactions concerning business, militarism and consumption.

I was an active participant in both of these conferences, delivering a keynote paper at De Montfort and also contributing a paper at Durham.⁴¹ My thesis is situated firmly in the context of business histories relating to the history of photography which is rooted in my research interests and outputs going back over thirty years.⁴² In their introductory article in the special issue of *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, published following the Durham conference, Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield observed that “the treatment of photography as a business undertaking has been neglected by the majority of photography historians”.⁴³ Whilst noting that “scholarship on photography and business remains sporadic and dispersed — a

⁴⁰*Workers and Consumers: The Photographic Industry 1860-1950* <https://photographichistory.wordpress.com/2013/06/20/workers-and-consumers-the-photographic-industry-1860-1950/> (accessed 30 March 2022).

⁴¹*The Modern Priests and Temples of the Sun* – DMU, 25 June, 2013. *How the British Photographic Industry Reacted to the Outbreak of War in 1914* – Durham 1 August, 2014.

⁴² For early examples of my publications in this area, see, ‘What a Give-away: Kodak Premium Cameras’, *Photographica World*, No 64, March, 1993, pp 19-22. ‘A Transatlantic Emanation: The Kodak Comes to Britain’ in *American Photographs in Europe*, Mick Gidley, David E. Nye, Eds, Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994, pp 109-129. ‘Kodak in Britain 1883-1898’, Part One, *Photographica World*, No 65, June, 1993, pp 10-14. Part Two, *Photographica World* No 67, December, 1993, pp 19-24.

⁴³Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield, ‘War, Photography, Business: New Critical Histories’, *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, Vol. 9, 2016, No. 2, pp 94-112.

minor byway, rather than a defining trajectory for research” they also acknowledged that: “A number of photo-historians pay close attention to business sources, including journals, advertisements, company records, and patents and legal documents, in order to illuminate their research on early or overlooked photographic practices.”⁴⁴ Allbeson and Oldfield cite the work of several scholars as exemplars of this approach, including my research into the work and business practices of itinerant beach and street photographers.⁴⁵

An exclusive reliance on an empirical methodology, however, can also have its drawbacks. Steve Edwards likens the recent growing attention to business, labour and industry in the study of the history of photography as in some ways a return to the work of an earlier generation of ‘antiquarian’ photohistorians such as Arthur T. Gill, R. Derek Wood and Bernard and Pauline Heathcote:

Not tied down by assumptions about art, antiquarians were prepared to follow their sources and gather any information they came across, including important material on business procedures. This work can be invaluable as a guide to sources, just as it can be infuriatingly myopic.⁴⁶

Indeed, an indiscriminate emphasis on the collection of empirical evidence, rather than a more reflexive approach which carefully considers the relevance and value of this information, can result in an inability to ‘see the wood for the trees’, blurring the subject of the research instead of bringing it in to sharper focus. The particular merit of empirical research is that it enables studies to be grounded in fact rather than speculation and, in considering practical and material imperatives and contexts for the production of photographs, it can provide a firm foundation for detailed visual analyses of images and theoretical assessments which might otherwise result in misunderstanding or misinterpretation.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Colin Harding, ‘The Smudger’s Art: The Popular Perception and Representation of Itinerant Photographers in the 19th Century’ in S. Popple and V. Toulmin, (eds) *Visual Delights: Essays on the Popular and Projected Image*. Trowbridge: Flicks, 2000, pp.141–153. Colin Harding, ‘Sunny Snaps: Commercial Photography at the Water’s Edge’. In: T. Cusack (ed) *Art and Identity at the Water’s Edge*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp.229–246.

⁴⁶ Steve Edwards, ‘Why Pictures? From Art History to Business History and Back Again’.

There is comparatively little detailed visual analysis of individual photographs in my thesis. Partly, this stems from the constraints imposed by word count limits. It is also, however, a result of my choice to adopt an empirical rather than an art historical and image-centred focus to my research. I am not concerned primarily or exclusively with Nicholls' canon of 'iconic' images but have concentrated on photographs which shed some light on Nicholls' professional and commercial practice or place them within a specific context. I have considered some of Nicholls' best-known and 'exceptional' images, but I have also included some of his photographs which might be considered banal or clichéd. I recognise the value of critical assessments and hope that my research will provide the basis for future, more theoretical/interpretive, assessments of aspects of Nicholls' work that have been neglected or misunderstood.

Nicholls enjoyed a long, prolific and varied career which provides an incredibly rich case study for understanding a range of issues that inform broader photo-historical debates. A study of Nicholls' career provides an opportunity to discuss these. It also allows us to consider the changing nature of photographic careers that photographers had to navigate - at which Nicholls seemed remarkably adept - adapting to changing technologies, personal and commercial circumstances to take advantage of opportunities to maximise the commercial rewards the medium presented. A detailed, empirical examination of Nicholls' life will, for the first time, situate him clearly in the various matrices in which he has a place and contribute to the various histories of photography, photojournalism, propaganda and museology. It sheds new light on different aspects of Nicholls' development and motivations as a photographer and challenges some of the interpretations of Nicholls' work in the existing literature.

CHAPTER ONE

Born in a Studio

In 1851, John Nicholls and his family were living in London. John, aged 39, and his wife Sophia, also 39, lived with their six children, aged between 17 and six months.⁴⁷ Both John and Sophia had been born in Norfolk but had moved to London, probably for John's work. John Nicholls has been described as 'an architect, builder and restorer of cathedrals churches and castles'.⁴⁸ The reality, however, was somewhat more prosaic. For the 1851 census, John Nicholls gave his occupation as 'joiner'. In later censuses he described himself as a builder. While he was indeed involved in the restoration of, amongst other buildings, a castle, it was in the more modest capacity of builders' foreman rather than as an architect.

During the 1860s, a major building project was undertaken in central Cambridge with the construction of Whewell's Court, opposite the entrance to Trinity College. The building contractor appointed for the construction of Whewell's Court was George Smith who was based in Pimlico, not far from John Nicholls' London home.⁴⁹ For a job of this importance, Smith needed a team that he knew he could depend on. The clerk of works was a Mr Rencher who had worked for Smith on several projects in London. As works superintendent, Smith appointed John Nicholls who, by inference, would have already been one of his employees.⁵⁰

The Nicholls family duly moved to Cambridge, where they lived at Newnham Grove, a detached house on the Grantchester Road on the outskirts of the town. In June 1861, when it was advertised for rent, this house was described as 'one of the prettiest and most retired places for residence in the neighbourhood'.⁵¹ Possession

⁴⁷ John (17), Charles (12), Arthur (10), Henry (4), Frederic (2) and Emily (6 months).

⁴⁸ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p.112.

⁴⁹ Nicholls' address in the 1851 census is given as 3 St Andrew's Terrace, Westminster.

⁵⁰ Rencher and Nicholls are reported as clerk of works and superintendent, respectively, for the development of Whewell's Court in *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 18 July, 1868 p.8.

⁵¹ *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 1 June, 1861, p.5.

was available from midsummer that year and this was probably the time that John Nicholls took up residence with his family. Living in a large house in a desirable location might imply that the family were prosperous. The reality, however, was different. Newnham Grove was owned by St John's College who leased it to an A. J. Moyes who, in turn, sub-let the house. In the 1871 census the Nicholls family are recorded as sharing the house with two other families.⁵² The family were comfortably off, as evidenced by their clothing and appearance in contemporary photographs but could not be described as wealthy.

The Nicholls family were certainly living at Newnham Grove by the autumn of 1864. There is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that at this time John Nicholls was involved in another major Cambridge building project - the rebuilding and extension of Addenbrooke's Hospital. The clerk of works for this project was, once again, Mr Rencher.⁵³ It is not unreasonable to assume that Rencher would again have been working alongside his colleague, John Nicholls. John Nicholls' involvement in the building work would also explain why one of his sons, Arthur, photographed the construction of the new hospital building.⁵⁴

Arthur Nicholls' photograph of Addenbrooke's Hospital under construction (Figure 1.1), taken in 1864, when he was aged 23, shows that he was a technically proficient photographer and had access to a camera, chemicals and a darkroom.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, there is no record as to how Arthur had acquired his knowledge of photography. If he was not self-taught, one can only assume that he had been employed as an apprentice or an assistant to a local photographer or, less likely, that he had enrolled on a commercial course of instruction, such as that offered by the Royal Panopticon of Science and Art in Leicester Square.⁵⁶

⁵² These were the Unwin family and the Wilby family.

⁵³ *Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday, 14 October 1865, p.6.

⁵⁴ Arthur Nicholls photographed the building work from the roof of the Fitzwilliam Museum. This photograph is now in the local studies collection at Cambridge Central Library – H.A. J63 7779.

⁵⁵ The date of the photograph can be estimated at November 1864. Roofing work is still underway in the photograph and this had been completed by December that year – see *The Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday 10 December 1864, p.8. The photograph is annotated 'A Nicholls Photo Newnham Grove'. Since Nicholls did not have a studio at this time it is probable that he had set up his darkroom at home.

⁵⁶ For a description of the Panopticon, see *The London Journal*, 13 May, 1854, p. 168. The charge for instruction in photography was five guineas for six lessons.

At the time Arthur took this photograph he had decided to become a professional photographer and to open his own studio. As well as technical knowledge, he would, of course have needed some money in order to set up in business. In the absence of hard evidence, one can only presume that he received some financial help from his family. Arthur planned to open a photographic studio at 5 All Saints' Passage, near St John's College, on 17 October 1864.⁵⁷ However, the publicised opening never took place. On 29 October, Nicholls placed an announcement in the local press saying that he:

Begs respectfully to announce to the public and those friends who promised him their patronage that the House he has taken in All Saints' Passage, not being large enough for first-class Portraiture, he has thought it advisable NOT to OPEN it as a Photographic Studio⁵⁸

While Nicholls claimed a lack of space as the reason for not opening the studio as planned, he may also have been influenced by other factors. The disruption caused by the construction of the new Chapel of St John's College, just yards away from his proposed new studio may have persuaded him to find a different location.⁵⁹

It was several months before Arthur Nicholls found suitable alternative premises. In June 1865 *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal* announced that 'A. Nicholls's new photographic studio is now open'.⁶⁰ The studio was located in Post Office Terrace, a

⁵⁷ Arthur Nicholls placed advertisements in the local press announcing the imminent opening of his studio. See, for example, *The Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday 15 October 1864, p.1. Nicholls' plans for opening his studio were clearly well advanced. He had already had carte mounts printed with the All Saints Passage address. To use these up he subsequently altered the mounts by crossing out the All Saints Passage address and adding his Post Office Terrace address in manuscript. For an example of this, see the *Fading Images* website on Cambridgeshire photographers - <http://www.fadingimages.uk/photoNi.asp> (accessed 12/03/2018).

⁵⁸ See *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 29 October 1864, p.1. The Grade II listed premises are still there and are now occupied by an upmarket lingerie shop. The present shop manager kindly allowed me to look around in January 2018, which served to confirm Arthur Nicholls' concerns. The shop is very small and it would have been problematic to have found adequate space for a reception area, studio, workshop and darkroom.

⁵⁹ Local historian Mike Petty, who has researched extensively early photography in Cambridge, whilst thinking that Nicholls had opened his studio in All Saint's Passage, also suggests that the disruption caused by demolition and building work was the reason for his move to Post Office Terrace. See Mike Petty, 'An Eye on the Past', *Cambridge Weekly News*, 21 February 1991, p.6 and 28 February 1998, p.7. Construction work on the new chapel for St John's College began in 1863 and the building was consecrated in 1869 – See G. F. Reyner, *The New Chapel of St John's College, Cambridge*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1869.

⁶⁰ *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 24 June, 1865 p.1. The exact opening date is not known but this is the earliest reference to the studio being open that I have been able to find. Nicholls had been making

small lane off St Andrew's Street.⁶¹ The building was owned by Jesus College who leased it to Nicholls.⁶² These larger premises provided sufficient space for a reception room and a 'commodious' studio large enough to take group portraits.⁶³ Advertising himself as an 'Artist and Photographer'⁶⁴, Arthur Nicholls offered a range of portrait formats, including 'The Ordinary Carte de Visite', 'Vignette Heads' and the latest novelty, 'The Diamond Cameo Carte de Visite'.⁶⁵ He also offered to take large family and group portraits, to copy or enlarge *cartes de visite* and collodion glass positives and to paint photographs in oil and watercolours.⁶⁶ He was also willing to photograph 'groups, horses, dogs, &c., as per arrangement'.⁶⁷

The studio was open from 9am until 7pm during the summer months and from 9am until dusk during the winter. Portraits were taken in the daylight-lit studio from 10am until 4pm. Arthur Nicholls could not have managed to operate his studio by himself and must have employed an assistant. In 1865, when the studio opened, Arthur's younger brother, Henry, was eighteen years old. In the 1871 census, Henry, who was then still living with his father and his siblings at Newnham Grove, gave his

plans for the opening for several weeks. On 31 May 1865 he registered his designs for a trade circular and business cards for his new studio with Stationers' Hall – National Archives, COPY 1/8/582, COPY 1/8/583, COPY 1/8/584. For a consideration of the criteria regarding a suitable location for a studio, see Thomas Bolas, *The Photographic Studio: A guide to its construction, design and the selection of a locality*, London: Marion, 1895, H. P. Robinson, *The Studio and What To Do in It*, London: Piper & Carter, 1891 and H.P. Robinson, *Photography as a Business*, Bedford: Percy Lund & Co, 1890.

⁶¹ Post Office Terrace was named after the main Cambridge Post Office which had opened there in 1850. The premises at Post Office Terrace were to remain in use as a photographic studio for well over 100 years under a succession of photographers, including Valentine Blanchard, Lettice Ramsey and Helen Muspratt and, finally, Peter Lofts, who closed the studio in 1985. See Mike Petty, 'The Cambridge Photographers at Post Office Terrace', *Cambridge*, No 29, Winter 1991-2, pp. 99-106.

⁶² It would be revealing to see the details of the lease agreement. Unfortunately, the Jesus College archives have not been fully catalogued – correspondence with Robert Athol, Jesus College Archivist 5 February 2018.

⁶³ The following advertisement appeared in the *J Morgan & Co Directory of Cambridge*, 1865-6: 'AN begs respectfully to inform the members of the University and the inhabitants of Cambridge that his commodious studio with reception room &c is now open...'

⁶⁴ For Arthur Nicholls' advertisements see, for example, *The Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday 19 August 1865, p.4 and *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 2 September 1865, p.1.

⁶⁵ The Diamond Cameo format had been introduced the previous year. It consisted of four tiny portraits, each showing different views of the sitter's face, arranged in a diamond shape on a card mount. See Audrey Linkman, *The Expert Guide to Dating Victorian Family Photographs*, Manchester: Greater Manchester County Record Office, 2000, p.17.

⁶⁶ See advertisement in *The Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday 19 August 1865, p.4.

⁶⁷ See advertisement in *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 20 October 1866 p.2.

occupation as 'photographer'. Henry almost certainly worked alongside his brother at Post Office Terrace.⁶⁸

Arthur Nicholls clearly understood the commercial importance of fostering good relationships with influential local figures. One of his early clients was Swann Hurrell, three times Mayor of Cambridge between 1857 and 1866. In October 1865 Nicholls donated a large format print of his portrait of Hurrell to the Cambridge Free Library. The donation of this 'excellent portrait' was duly reported in the local press.⁶⁹ Portraiture was the studio's primary activity. Being in a University town, Nicholls aimed his advertising at both 'the gentlemen of the University and the inhabitants of the town'.⁷⁰ Students and academics were amongst his most important clients.⁷¹ Arthur Nicholls also recognised the importance of the rapidly expanding local tourist market which flourished following the arrival of the railway in Cambridge in the 1840s.⁷² In September 1865 he registered his photograph of the recently-demolished All Saints Church for copyright at Stationers' Hall.⁷³ While he did not register them, Nicholls also sold photographs of other notable Cambridge churches as *cartes de visite*.⁷⁴ Arthur Nicholls was, of course, neither the first, nor by any means the only, Cambridge photographer to try to tap into the potentially lucrative but highly-competitive market for touristic souvenir photographs. The 1861 edition of *The Railway Traveller's Walk through Cambridge* contains an advertisement by W.

⁶⁸ Henry Nicholls' name does not appear in any local trade directories as an independent photographer. Given the competitive nature of the profession, it is highly unlikely that Henry would have worked for another photographic studio in Cambridge.

⁶⁹ *The Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday 7 October 1865, p.8. This photograph is now in Cambridge Local Studies Library – R.Hur.J.65.101. It shows that the still relatively young Arthur (then aged 24) was already technically very proficient.

⁷⁰ See, for example, *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 18 May 1872, p.1.

⁷¹ Examples of Arthur Nicholls' studio portraits of Cambridge students and academics can be found in several Cambridge University college libraries and archives. For example, St John's Library (IX/3/11/4) and King's College Archives (GHWR/5/306).

⁷² The railway line from London to Cambridge opened in 1845. For an example of the tourism guides this spawned, see *A Guide to the Eastern Counties Railway (Cambridge Line)*, Norwich: Stevenson and Matchett, 1845.

⁷³ National Archives COPY 1/9/306, 17 September 1865. The registration was also noted in *The Photographic News*, 29 September 1865, p.468. Unfortunately, the registration form does not have a copy of the photograph attached. Nicholls also photographed other Cambridge churches at the time but chose not to register these. Perhaps he considered his record of All Saints Church to have greater potential historic and commercial value following its recent demolition. On the registration form Nicholls gives his address as Newnham Grove, Cambridge.

⁷⁴ See, for example, a *carte de visite* of the Church of St Mary the Great on the *Fading Images* website - <http://www.fadingimages.uk/photoNi.asp> (accessed 13/03/2018).

Nichols (no relation) for photographic 'views of the Town & University in great variety'.⁷⁵ The book's publisher, William Metcalfe, sold 'Photographic Views of the Colleges and other Public Buildings' at his stationers and photographic establishment in Trinity Street and was also an agent for Francis Frith's photographic views. While some of Nicholls' views of Cambridge were formulaic, recording churches, colleges and other historic buildings for the tourist market, others were clearly created for other, non-commercial, purposes. The local studies collection at Cambridge Central Library holds a folio of forty-two Cambridge views taken by Arthur Nicholls between about 1865 and 1875 which have been given the generic title 'Old Cambridge'.⁷⁶ Some of these are early 'instantaneous' studies of the Market Square showing pedestrians crowding around the open-air stalls.⁷⁷ Others, in contrast, are clearly intended as a photographic record of the rapidly changing face of Cambridge where many medieval domestic and commercial buildings were being demolished to make way for new developments. These subjects, including shops, pubs and the yards of coaching inns, would have had little or no commercial potential. Cambridge local historian Mike Petty has claimed that Nicholls was commissioned by Corpus

⁷⁵*The Railway Traveller's Walk through Cambridge*, Cambridge: William Metcalfe, 1861. Unpaginated advertisements at the end of the book. Examples of Nichols' *cartes de visite* of Cambridge colleges can be seen at <http://www.fadingimages.uk/photoNi.asp> (accessed 13/03/2018). By the time of the 1867 edition, Nichols was offering '500 different views to select from'. It is interesting to compare the woodcut of the Church of St Mary the Great which appears on page 43 of the 1864 edition of this book with a *carte de visite* of the same subject taken by Arthur Nicholls at about the same time.

⁷⁶ Catalogue reference C.66.1 LS. These were deposited in the library in the 1980s by Peter Lofts, the last owner of the Post Office Terrace studio. They are later (platinum?) prints made from whole plate negatives. The studio contained thousands of negatives taken by its occupants over the years and stored in 'every nook and cranny'. See – *A Guide to Negatives from the Post Office Terrace Studio, Cambridge* <http://www.fadingimages.uk/POTNegativesV101.pdf> (accessed 14/03/2018). Initially, these negatives by Nicholls were probably purchased by his successor, J. E. Bliss as part of the arrangement when he took over the studio. An advertisement taken out by Bliss in 1878 mentions 'A large collection of college and other views kept in stock', *Spalding's Street and General Directory of Cambridge*, Cambridge: W.F.Spalding, 1878.

⁷⁷ The earliest photographic processes normally required exposures of many seconds, or even minutes, rendering the photography of movement impossible. However, with the right combination of lighting, subject, lens and plate size, exposures of a fraction of a second, while still very difficult to achieve, were possible. The taking of such photographs became known as 'instantaneous photography'. While the term was in common usage during the 19th century, there was surprisingly little discussion or agreement as to precisely what it meant. In practice, the term was applied to any photograph which contained an element of movement or which was taken with an exposure of less than one second. In Britain, one of the earliest and most celebrated exponents of instantaneous photography was Valentine Blanchard. His 'Instantaneous Views' of London street scenes caused a sensation when they were first exhibited in the early 1860s – See 'Instantaneous Views of London', *The British Journal of Photography*, 15 October, 1862, pp. 381-382. For an examination of the history of instantaneous photography, see Philip Prodger, *Time Stands Still: Muybridge and the Instantaneous Photography Movement*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Christi College 'to take a photographic record of the Red Hart Yard in Petty Cury that was to be redeveloped as Alexandra Street'.⁷⁸ Certainly, as documentary records, several of Nicholls' photographs display a striking affinity with those produced at around the same time by the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London, which was founded in 1875.⁷⁹

Despite competition from several other photographic studios, business appears to have been good.⁸⁰ Towards the end of 1866, Arthur Nicholls advertised in the local press for additional staff.⁸¹ Nicholls' need for an extra pair of hands may well have been prompted by an imminent change in his personal circumstances. On 29 October 1866, Arthur married Charlotte Maria Johnson at St Botolph's Church, in Grimston, Norfolk.⁸² Arthur and Maria probably first met through a shared family connection with Norfolk. Arthur's mother, Sophia, had also been born in Charlotte's home village of Grimston. As it was such a small village, Sophia would certainly have known Charlotte's family. As a teenager, Charlotte worked in Islington as a nursemaid to the young children of Henry Emery and his wife, Mary, both of whom were also born in Norfolk. Arthur and Charlotte's relationship may have begun in London and continued after he had moved to Cambridge. With his studio successfully established, Arthur may now have felt himself to be in a position to consider marriage. There was also, however, another, more pressing, consideration which hastened the marriage arrangements. When Charlotte walked down the aisle she was already several months pregnant. Arthur brought his new bride back to

⁷⁸ Mike Petty, 'The Cambridge Photographers at Post Office Terrace', *Cambridge*, No 29, Winter 1991-2, p.100.

⁷⁹ See Kenneth E. Foote, 'Relics of Old London: Photographs of a changing Victorian City', *History of Photography*, Vol II, Summer 1987, pp. 133-153.

⁸⁰ Trade Directories show that in the 1860s there were several photographic studios in Cambridge competing with Arthur Nicholls for business, including Robert Farren, Hills and Saunders, Frederick Nicholls (no relation), William Nichols, William Pugh and Thomas Stearn. William Nichols can lay claim to being the first professional photographer in Cambridge, having obtained a licence from Richard Beard to take daguerreotypes in 1844. Nichols, who had a well-established studio in St Mary's Passage, was clearly concerned when his near namesake Arthur Nicholls opened his studio in 1865 in Post Office Terrace, less than five minutes' walk away. Nichols' advertisements of the time carry a prominent notice that he had 'No connection with any other Photographic Establishment of the name of "Nichols"'. See, for examples, *Morgan's Directory of Cambridge 1865-6* and *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 2 September 1865 p.1.

⁸¹ Nicholls advertised for 'a sharp, active lad, age about 13 or 14, to run errands, &c' *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday, 13 October 1866, p.5.

⁸² It is interesting that on the marriage certificate Arthur gives his occupation as 'artist'.

Cambridge where their first child, Horace Walter Nicholls, was born 'above the shop', less than four months later, on 17 February 1867.⁸³

Horace was soon followed by two more children, Ernest and Gertrude.⁸⁴ By the time Gertrude was born, in May 1870, the growing Nicholls family had moved out of Post Office Terrace to a house in Little St Mary's Terrace, ten minutes' walk from Arthur's studio.⁸⁵ By this time his financial circumstances were such that Arthur could now afford to employ two young female domestic servants.⁸⁶

Marriage and fatherhood, combined with a degree of financial security, may have encouraged Arthur Nicholls to consider that this was the right time to consolidate his professional status as a photographer and an artist. In December 1870 he was elected a member of the Photographic Society of London (now The Royal Photographic Society).⁸⁷ The previous year Arthur Nicholls had exhibited several photographs of Dunster Castle in Somerset at the Society's annual exhibition. His father, John, was the builders' foreman for the extensive restoration work that was undertaken there between 1869 and 1872.⁸⁸ Arthur subsequently had prints included in the 1870, 1871, 1872 and 1874 Photographic Society exhibitions.⁸⁹

⁸³ Conception out of wedlock was, of course, by no means uncommon. However, this fact was clearly something which was not discussed within the family and came as a surprise to Nicholls' descendants.

⁸⁴ Ernest Frederick (1868-1937), born on 24 June 1868 and Gertrude Emily (1870-1956), born on 10 May 1870.

⁸⁵ 24 Little St Mary's Terrace has since been demolished and is now the site of the University Centre.

⁸⁶ According to 1871 Census, these were Elizabeth German and Louisa Willis, both aged 16.

⁸⁷ Arthur Nicholls' membership of the Photographic Society was announced in *The Photographic Journal*, on 16 December 1870, p.39.

⁸⁸ Arthur Nicholls exhibited the following prints at the 1869 annual exhibition: Exhibit No 86, 'Three views at Dunster, Somerset'. Exhibit No 99, 'Three views in Dunster'. Exhibit No 103, 'Four views of Dunster castle'. Exhibit No 106, 'Four views'. 1869 and 1872. For the restoration of Dunster Castle, see *The West Somerset Free Press*, Saturday 22 January 1870, p.4. This explains why John Nicholls is not listed as being at home in Newnham Grove, Cambridge when the 1871 census was undertaken. The architect for the restoration work of Dunster Castle was Anthony Salvin, one of whose previous commissions was the construction of Whewell's Court for Trinity College, Cambridge between 1860-68. This was where John Nicholls was previously employed as Superintendent of Works – see *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 18 July 1868, p.8, also, *The Builder*, 25 July, 1868, p.549.

⁸⁹ 1870 – Exhibit No 49, 'The Ferry'. Exhibit No 171, 'King's College Chapel, Cambridge'. Exhibit No 172, 'The Boat-house'. Exhibit No 305, 'Cattle'. Exhibit No 306, 'Group of Trees'.

1871 – Exhibit No 131, 'At Home'. Exhibit No 371, 'Three Cambridge Chorister Boys'. Nicholls registered two prints showing three Cambridge choristers at Stationers' Hall on 12 May 1871. National Archives COPY 1/17/414 and COPY 1/17/415.

1872 – Exhibit No 244, 'Triptographic Cameos'. Exhibit No 188, 'Toads, from life'.

By the start of the 1870s, the enormous popularity which the *carte de visite* format had enjoyed following its introduction into Britain in 1860 was decidedly on the wane. To stimulate the public's interest in studio portraiture, photographers sought to introduce new portrait formats. The late 1860s and 1870s saw the appearance of a succession of card formats of varying dimensions and layouts in an attempt to stimulate trade.⁹⁰ In 1872, Arthur Nicholls registered several of his designs for novel photographic card mounts for copyright with Stationers' Hall.⁹¹ Featuring a larger oval medallion portrait in the centre of the *carte*, flanked on either side by a smaller one, Nicholls called his new design the 'Triptographic Cameo'. He began advertising his 'new style of portraiture' in May 1872, describing it as 'lately introduced and registered by himself'.⁹² Despite facing competition from a plethora of similar designs introduced around the same time, Nicholls' new format enjoyed some success. It was taken up and introduced commercially by Marion & Co, one of the most important printers of photographic mounts and the firm which supplied Arthur Nicholls with the mounts he used in his studio. *The British Journal of Photography* reviewed favourably some specimens on show in Marion's London showroom.

These triptographic portraits are well adapted for family groups, for one of the leading members of a family...may be placed in the centre, supported on both sides by those olive branches which form the "grace and glory" of most well-regulated domestic establishments...

The general arrangement of the three pictures as a whole has been registered, and also the specific patterns of the artistic designs; but it is open to all photographers to obtain both the artistic patterns and the legal right to use them upon payment of the small royalty of ten shillings per thousand pictures. This style of portraiture will, if actively

⁹⁰ For a description of some of these formats, see Audrey Linkman, *The Victorians: Photographic Portraits*, London: Tauris Parke Books, 1993, pp. 73-77.

⁹¹ National Archives – COPY 1/18/344 to COPY 1/18/356, 29 April 1872 and COPY 1/18/539 to COPY 1/18/542. 13 June 1872.

⁹² See *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday 25 May 1872, p.1. This claim was not strictly true since he did not register his designs which he specified as 'triptographic' until 13 June 1872.

pressed forward, lead to an extension of business in various directions.⁹³

It is not known how much Marion's paid Arthur Nicholls for the use of his designs or what percentage of the royalties he received. The format was used widely by photographers as far afield as New Zealand so it was almost certainly a useful additional source of income. This would have been very welcome since Nicholls' family was continuing to grow. In July 1872 another son, Arthur, was born, who died when he was less than a month old. 1874 saw the birth of a girl, Mabel, followed in September the next year by another boy, Herbert.⁹⁴ By this time the family had left their home in Little St Mary's Terrace and moved to a larger house on Maid's Causeway, slightly outside the town centre. It is at this time that we get a glimpse of Horace Nicholls' life in official records when, aged seven, his name appears in the admissions book for the Higher Grade School in Paradise Street.⁹⁵

It was also around this time that Arthur Nicholls began to consider leaving Cambridge to set up a studio elsewhere. It is possible that he may have decided to leave Cambridge because his studio in Post Office Terrace was no longer making money. There is some evidence to support this. In January 1887, a decade after Nicholls had left Cambridge, a local architect, Richard Reynolds Rowe, who had been consulted to advise on the construction of a new shop front for the studio, wrote to the Bursar of Jesus College, which owned the building, stating that 'the rent is high at present; the last two tenants (Arthur Nicholls and his successor, John Edward Bliss) lost money there.'⁹⁶

⁹³ 'Triptographic Cameo Portraits', *The British Journal of Photography*, 20 September 1872, p.444. See also Audrey Linkman, *The Expert Guide to Dating Victorian Family Photographs*, Manchester: Greater Manchester County Record Office, 2000, p.21.

⁹⁴ Alfred Arthur 19 July – 16 August 1872, Mabel Edith (1874-1902) and Herbert Arthur (1875-1961)

⁹⁵ See the National School Admission registers - <https://search.findmypast.co.uk/results/world-records/national-school-admission-registers-and-log-books-1870-1914?>

[firstname=horace&lastname=nicholls&yearofbirth=1868®ion=United+Kingdom&keywordsplace=cambridge](https://search.findmypast.co.uk/results/world-records/national-school-admission-registers-and-log-books-1870-1914?firstname=horace&lastname=nicholls&yearofbirth=1868®ion=United+Kingdom&keywordsplace=cambridge) (accessed 14/03/2018). The school was opened in 1870. It was known as the Higher Grade School, because it aimed to reach a higher standard than the existing elementary schools. Pupils (they were all boys) were charged 6d week if they were aged under 10, and 9d if they were older. Horace attended the school with his younger brother, Ernest.

⁹⁶ Quoted on the *Fading Images* website <http://www.fadingimages.uk/photoNi.asp> (accessed 13/3/2018).

It is not known why Arthur Nicholls chose to relocate to Sandown on the Isle of Wight.⁹⁷ There are no known Nicholls family connections with the island. However, in the 1870s, from a business perspective, Sandown could be seen to offer a great deal of potential. Designed by the Victorians as a coastal resort, the town grew rapidly after the opening of the railway line to Ryde in 1864, with ferry connections to the mainland. Between 1861 and 1871 the resident population doubled, but even greater growth was experienced in the number of holidaymakers. Between 1855 and 1875, the number of boarding houses rose from just six to 64. Sandown pier opened in 1879 and a broad esplanade was completed in the early 1880s. The resort was promoted as a 'quality' destination for more discerning, and affluent, holidaymakers. Sandown in the 1870s was clearly a place with plenty of business opportunities. Significantly, in 1875 it was also a town which had only one photographer to serve a rapidly growing influx of visitors.⁹⁸ This was an important consideration at a time when the number of professional photographers and, consequently, the level of commercial competition was increasing rapidly.⁹⁹

The precise date the Nicholls family moved to the Isle of Wight is not known but it is likely to have been some time in 1876. Charlotte Nicholls gave birth to a son, Gilbert Edward, in Sandown in February 1877, followed by another boy, Stanley Hugh, in May the following year, also in Sandown.¹⁰⁰ During this time, Arthur Nicholls divided his time between Cambridge and Sandown, sorting out the establishment of his new

⁹⁷ It is rumoured in family accounts that the move was prompted by the fact that Charlotte Nicholls had 'a drink problem'. However, I have seen no evidence to substantiate this or to explain how this would have been alleviated by relocation to the Isle of Wight.

⁹⁸ For the history of the development of Sandown as a resort during the nineteenth century, see the Sandown Conservation Area Appraisal Report compiled by the Isle of Wight Council in 2011 - [https://www.iwight.com/azservices/documents/1322 Sandown%20Conservation%20Area%20Character%20Appraisal.pdf](https://www.iwight.com/azservices/documents/1322_Sandown%20Conservation%20Area%20Character%20Appraisal.pdf) (accessed 15/03/2018). The sole photographer was Edward Peter Adams who had a studio in Fitzroy Street. See *The Post Office Directory of Hampshire, including The Isle of Wight, Wiltshire and Dorsetshire*, London: Kelly and Co, 1875, p.332.

⁹⁹ Between 1871 and 1881 the number of professional photographers recorded in the census returns increased from 4,715 to 6,661 – a rise of more than 40%. See *Census of England and Wales: General Report 1881 Volume IV*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode 1883, p.32.

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert Edward Nicholls, born 23 February 1877. Place of birth registered as 2 Birkbeck Cottages, Fort Street, Sandown Isle of Wight. Stanley Hugh Nicholls, born 31 May 1878. Place of birth given as Sandown, Isle of Wight.

studio while, at the same time, arranging the transfer of his existing studio to a new owner.¹⁰¹

Some time before June 1878, Nicholls' studio in Post Office Terrace Studio was taken over by John Edward Bliss who had a shop selling fancy goods and stationery, at 7 St Andrew's Street, just around the corner.¹⁰² While continuing his other business, Bliss now also advertised 'portraits taken daily'.¹⁰³

Nicholls' new studio, at 5 Marine Terrace, Sandown, was in a prime location, overlooking the seafront.¹⁰⁴ The opening date is not known but he was certainly in business there by the end of 1880 when Nichols used this address to register a photograph he had taken of the remains of the Roman Villa at nearby Brading for copyright at Stationers' Hall.¹⁰⁵

In the 1881 census, when he had just turned 14, Horace Nicholls' occupation is recorded as 'photographer'. By contemporary standards this was by no means unusual.¹⁰⁶ Children worked with their parents across a wide range of occupations

¹⁰¹ Arthur's brother, Henry, may have taken on a more responsible role at this time and there is strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that Arthur might have also employed someone who had recently become a member of the family. On 5 July 1875, Arthur's youngest sister, Emily, married Thomas Cox, a local man who was employed as a woollen draper's clerk. Thomas and Emily's second son Alfred, was born on 24 April 1877 and his place of birth recorded as Post Office Terrace. Thomas Cox had no previous experience of photography yet, in the 1881 census he gave his occupation as 'photographer'. The obvious inference is that Thomas was employed at the studio and Arthur and Henry taught their brother in law the basics so that he could help out during Arthur's visits to Sandown. If Arthur thought that he was helping his sister by giving Thomas a start in a new career he was to be disappointed. By 1888 Thomas Cox was once again working as a clerk. In November that year he was found guilty of forging his employer's name on cheques and was imprisoned for nine months with hard labour. See *Cambridge Independent Press*, Friday 23 November, 1888, p 5.

¹⁰² Spalding's 1878 Cambridge Directory, published in June that year, lists Bliss as a photographer in Post Office Terrace and 'successor to A. Nichol' (sic). *Spalding's Street and General Directory of Cambridge*, Cambridge: W.F.Spalding, 1878, p.115.

¹⁰³ See, for example, *The Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, Saturday, 18 October, 1879, p.1. Bliss, however, was not to enjoy a long and successful career at Post Office Terrace. He died on 19 January 1885, aged just 30. See *Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday 9 May 1885, p.1. Bliss's executor was his brother, Henry James Bliss, who was also a photographer and worked with his brother at Post Office Terrace. On 30 June 1885, Bliss's 'Photographic apparatus and stock-in-trade of a photographer' were sold at auction. See *Cambridge Independent Press*, Saturday, 27 June, 1885, p.5. By a strange quirk of fate, Bliss died while on holiday on the Isle of Wight, where his predecessor, Arthur Nicholls, now had a studio. The next occupier of the Post Office Terrace studio was Valentine Blanchard.

¹⁰⁴ It was located in premises previously occupied by the Misses Loosemore who had a shop selling ladies boots and shoes, underclothes, bed-linen and corsets. See, *The First Edition of an Historical and Commercial Directory of the Isle of Wight*. London: J.W.Hill & Co 1871, p. 259.

¹⁰⁵ National Archives COPY 1/51/485, 11 December, 1880.

¹⁰⁶ As the summary report of the 1891 census noted: 'Many young persons, being apprentices or assistants, have been referred to occupations usually followed by adults'.

and photography was no exception. Indeed, since the workplace was often also the family home, children became involved in their parents' work from a very early age. In the summary tables compiled from the 1891 census returns 2,356 young people aged between 10 and 20 were recorded as 'photographers'. Of these, over 250 were aged younger than 15.¹⁰⁷ Frederick Daniel Hardy's 1862 painting, *The Young Photographers*, (Figure 1.2) depicts a somewhat romanticised yet well observed domestic scene set in the studio/home of a photographer. In the sitting room, the photographer's children play at being photographers, watched over by their mother who, with a baby in her lap, is trimming photographs ready for mounting. In the background, through an open door, the photographer's studio is visible and, through the window, the photographer himself is shown, trying to convince a couple to come in and have their portraits taken.¹⁰⁸

With the birth of another son, Frank, in May 1883, Arthur and Charlotte Nicholls now had seven children at home.¹⁰⁹ Horace Nicholls was now 16. Unless he was prepared to remain working with his father, he was now of an age when would soon have to leave home to begin his own photographic career. It is not known why Horace chose to move to West Yorkshire, over 250 miles from the Isle of Wight, but there is very strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that he left Sandown to work for a photographic studio in Huddersfield.

In May 1884, William Duffus took over a studio in Huddersfield that had previously been operated by Samuel Stansfield Priestley.¹¹⁰ Having extensively re-fitted the studio before re-opening it, Duffus may well have advertised for a young assistant. As well as a photographer, William Duffus was also an artist and portrait painter and would certainly have been regarded by Arthur Nicholls, a portrait painter himself, as

¹⁰⁷ *Census of England and Wales 1891 Volume III, Ages, Conditions as to Marriage Occupations, Birth-places and Infirmities*. London: HMSO, 1893, pp.x-xi. By this date Horace had left home. Two of his siblings, however, are included in these statistics since both Mabel, aged 17, and Gilbert, aged 14, are recorded in the 1891 census as photographers.

¹⁰⁸ This painting is in the collection of Tunbridge Wells Museum and Art Gallery – TUNWM:1956.86.23.

¹⁰⁹ Frank Percival Nicholls, born 6 May 1883. Another son, Harold Edgar, had been born on 30 May 1881.

¹¹⁰ See *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday 17 May, 1884, p.5. The studio was at 28 Ramsden St, in the centre of Huddersfield, opposite the Town Hall which had opened in 1881. See also Keith Adamson 'Professional Photographers in Halifax and Huddersfield', *The PhotoHistorian*, Supplement No 104, Spring, 1994.

being a suitable mentor for his son.¹¹¹ The opening of Duffus' studio coincides with the time around which Nicholls is thought to have left Sandown. The connection with William Duffus would prove to be of subsequent significance for Nicholls' career. In November 1885, his studio was completely destroyed by fire.¹¹² The following year he opened a new studio, just around the corner in Queen Street, Huddersfield, where he was joined by his younger brother, John. The brothers were only there for a couple of years, however, before they migrated to South Africa.¹¹³ The brothers' subsequent career reveals a direct link with that of Horace Nicholls which cannot be merely coincidental. In 1891, the Duffus brothers opened a studio in Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. John Duffus became a close friend of the wealthy Johannesburg mine-owner, George Henry Goch. Goch's brother, James Frederick Goch, owned the photographic studio, also in Pritchard Street, where Horace Nicholls was employed when he moved to Johannesburg in 1892.¹¹⁴

Horace Nicholls seems only to have spent a relatively short time in Huddersfield.¹¹⁵ By the summer of 1886, he was back on the Isle of Wight and looking for employment. In September that year he placed an advertisement in the classified section of *The Photographic News*.

Photographer's son aged 21 is open for re-engagement as general assistant or assistant operator and retoucher. Good references.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ William Duffus had attended Aberdeen School of Art. See *The Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 12 August, 1879, p.7. See also *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, Saturday 13 February, 1892, p.5.

¹¹² See *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, Friday 13 November, 1885, p.3.

¹¹³ 'To be sold, with immediate possession, the business at present carried on by Mr. William Duffus' – *The Huddersfield Chronicle*, 10 November, 1888, p.4.

¹¹⁴ See A.D.Bensusan, *Silver Images: History of Photography in Africa*, Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1966, p.42. See also, *Duffus Bros. of Cape Town & Johannesburg* - <http://www.pelteret.co.za/content/000169/Duffus-Bros-of-Cape-Town-and-Johannesburg.pdf> (accessed 25/03/2018).

¹¹⁵ Nicholls may have left Huddersfield following the arrival of William Duffus' brother, John. In July 1885 Horace Nicholls was in Rochester, Kent. Whilst there, he was involved in an accident when a pier on the River Medway collapsed. About 80 people standing on the pier were thrown into the water. One of the lucky people plucked from the water was Horace Nicholls who had been waiting to board a boat for Sheerness. His account of his experience was reported in the local press - *The Chatham and Rochester News*, 1 August, 1885: 'The sight was horrifying to behold, some 50 or 60 people floating in the water (the majority women and children) shrieking and screaming to be saved. I held on to the girder until the women and children were taken out of the water, when the boats came for us fellows'.

¹¹⁶ *The Photographic News*, 17 September, 1886, p.v. The address for replies is given as Cyprus Villa, Sandown, Isle of Wight. Cyprus Villa was in Pellmont Road. The Nicholls family had moved to this address at some time after 1881 and were still there at the time of the 1891 census.

Nicholls stressed his breadth of experience as both an operator and retoucher. It is significant that he sought 're-engagement', implying that he had already had some experience as an assistant operator. It is also revealing that he gave his age as 21 (his real age was 19), thereby hoping to appear older and more experienced to any prospective employers.¹¹⁷

Nicholls' subsequent employment was a marked contrast to his experience in Huddersfield; he was to spend the next three years working as a photographer in Chile. This period is the least well documented of Nicholls' career. In *The Golden Summer*, Gail Buckland covers this period of Nicholls' life in just 13 lines.¹¹⁸ His youngest daughter, Peggy, recalled her father describing his time in South America as 'the jolliest years of my life.'¹¹⁹ Given this description, Nicholls' time in Chile might be dismissed as simply an expression of his youthful *wanderlust*, an opportunity to experience some travel and adventure before settling down to a career as a respectable portrait photographer. On reflection, however, it becomes clear that it was more than merely a youthful interlude of *joie de vivre*.¹²⁰ It was a formative period in his life, during which he extended his professional experience and was introduced to some of the ideas, personalities and opportunities that were to shape his future career.

During the late nineteenth century, Chile had very close cultural and commercial links with Britain.¹²¹ Even though he was thousands of miles from home, Nicholls would have heard many English voices and seen much that would have been very

¹¹⁷ According to his daughter, Peggy, Nicholls applied for a job in Chile after he saw an advertisement in a newspaper while he was in Huddersfield – Quoted in Buckland, p. 113. I have been unable to trace any such advertisement in any local or national newspaper or in the photographic press. The 'vacancy sort' advert placed by Nicholls in the *Photographic News* suggests that in 1886 he had returned to Sandown.

¹¹⁸ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, pp.113-114.

¹¹⁹ Peggy Mallinson, A brief biographical portrait of Horace. W. Nicholls, Family Collection.

¹²⁰ Nicholls was not unique. Other British photographers travelled to distant parts of the world to establish their careers. Walter Bentley Woodbury, for example, travelled to Australia in 1872, when he was just 18 and Nicholls' future colleague at the Ministry of Information, George Pasham Lewis, travelled to Java in 1897 to work at the studio of Ohannes Kurkdjian when he was 22.

¹²¹ For a survey of Britain's historic links with Chile, see William Edmundson, *A History of the British Presence in Chile*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. For the history of Britain's involvement with Chile I have relied principally on this source.

familiar. In a lecture to the Y.M.C.A. in Valparaiso in 1884, the Chilean historian, Benjamin Vicuna Mackenna, described Chile as 'The England of the Pacific'.¹²²

According to national censuses, there were 4,267 British nationals living in Chile in 1875, making up a quarter of all Europeans living there. Numbers rose over the following decades. In 1885 there were 5,310 and, ten years later, 6,838.¹²³ As the main port of entry into the country and the centre of foreign trade, many migrants settled in Valparaiso. The British had a dominant presence among these foreigners. According to the 1875 census, two-fifths of the British nationals living in Chile were resident in Valparaiso where there was a concentration of British commercial interests, particularly in retail and service businesses such as the English Tea Room, the English Bar and Campbell & Maggs' English Hotel.¹²⁴ There was also an English language newspaper, *The Chilian Times and Mercantile and Shipping gazette for the west coast of South America*.¹²⁵ Hernan Rodriguez Villegas, former Director of the National Historical Museum of Chile, has compiled a directory of nineteenth century photographers in Chile. According to his research, during the 1860s and 1870s, there were also at least two photographic studios in Valparaiso run by Englishmen, Charles Lewis Rowsell and C. Baldwin, who advertised as *Fotografia Inglese*.¹²⁶

The commercial activity in Chile with which the British were most closely associated and which they came to dominate at the end of the nineteenth century was nitrate extraction. The British name most associated with Chilean nitrates is the larger-than-life figure of investor and businessman, Colonel John Thomas North, known as 'The Nitrate King'.¹²⁷ A controversial personality, North purchased concessions to mine

¹²² Edmundson, p.5.

¹²³ Figures quoted in Edmundson, p.106. Unfortunately, Nicholls' time in Chile fell between the two census dates of 1885 and 1895. Note – need to check 1885 census, just in case.

¹²⁴ Edmundson, p.143.

¹²⁵ The *Chilian Times* was published between 1876 and 1907. It contains shipping information and passenger lists, news and local events and advertisements. It also published regular supplements, illustrated with photographs. Potentially, this newspaper might contain useful information relating to Nicholls' time in Chile. Unfortunately, however, the only copies seem to be held by the Library of Congress in Washington DC and the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile in Santiago.

¹²⁶ Hernan Rodriguez Villegas, *Historia de la Fotografía: Fotografos en Chile durante el siglo XIX*, Santiago: Centro Nacional del Patrimonio Fotografico, 2001.

¹²⁷ For biographies of North, see, William Edmundson, *The Nitrate King; a biography of 'Colonel' John Thomas North*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; Harold Blakemore, *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics, 1886-1896: Balmeda and North*, London: The Athlone Press, 1974. H. Blakemore, 'John Thomas North, The Nitrate King', *History Today*, 1 July, 1962, pp.467-475. In 1885 North was made an Honorary Colonel of the 2nd Tower

nitrate in Tarapacá at rock-bottom prices from Peru during the Pacific War. After the war, the Chilean government agreed to honour these concessions and North subsequently enjoyed a virtual global monopoly of nitrate supply.

In Chile, there was increasing apprehension about the amount of power and influence that North had accumulated. José Manuel Balmaceda, who became president of Chile in 1886, was openly critical of the amount of foreign, particularly British, business interest in his country. By 1889, North felt that he had been away from Chile for too long and needed to return there to safeguard his considerable financial interests. In February 1889, North sailed to Chile. In order to garner the maximum publicity for his trip, he paid handsomely for two of the best-known journalists of the time, William Howard Russell¹²⁸ and Melton Prior,¹²⁹ to accompany him and to record their experiences.¹³⁰ In March the party arrived in Valparaiso – described by *The Illustrated London News* as ‘the Liverpool of Chile, which possesses all the European conveniences of modern civilised town’.¹³¹

To Theodore Child, a contemporary American visitor, the Anglicisation of the city was obvious.

‘Valparaiso, the port of Santiago, and the principal port of the republic, is quite an English city. “The Chilians will not be pleased to

Hamlets (East London) Volunteer Engineer Corps. See, *The London Gazette*, 24 March, 1885, p.1315.

¹²⁸William Howard Russell (1820-1907), who wrote for *The Times*, is considered to be one of the first modern war correspondents. Over his long career he reported on many conflicts, including the Crimean War, the American Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War and the Zulu War. See, Caroline Chapman, *Russell of The Times: War Despatches and Diaries*, London: Bell & Hyman, 1984; Robert Furneaux, *The First War Correspondent: William Howard Russell*, London: Cassell, 1944; Alan Hankinson, *Man of Wars: William Howard Russell of The Times*, London: Heinemann, 1982.

¹²⁹ One of the leading illustrators of late Victorian Britain, Melton Prior (1845-1910) worked as a Special Artist for *The Illustrated London News* from the early 1870s until 1904. For accounts of Prior’s work and career, see Pat Hodgson, *The War Illustrators*, London: Osprey, 1977; Paul Hogarth, *The Artist as Reporter*, London: Gordon Fraser, 1986; Peter Johnson, *Front Line Artists*, London: Cassell, 1978; Robert Wilkinson-Latham, *From our Special Correspondent: Victorian war correspondents and their campaigns*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979. Prior had another reason to visit Chile. Since 1882 he had been, along with North, a director of the Nitrate Railways Company Ltd – see, Harold Blakemore, *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics, 1886-1896: Balmaceda and North*, London: The Athlone Press, 1974, p.48.

¹³⁰Over the course of the trip, Russell came to greatly dislike Prior. In September 1889, Russell wrote to his daughter, Alice, ‘He is the most insufferable conceited snob I ever met.’ Quoted in Alan Hankinson, *Man of Wars: William Howard Russell of The Times*, London: Heinemann, 1982, p.258. According to Russell, North wrote out a cheque for £1,000 to persuade Russell to accompany him to Chile.

¹³¹ ‘Sketches in Chile’, *The Illustrated London News*, 9 August, 1890, p.182.

read that statement," suggests a friend at my elbow. "Can it be denied?" I ask. "Is not the whole aspect of the place English? Is not the bay full of English ships? Do you not hear English spoken everywhere as soon as you get ashore? Do not the public-houses bear the familiar old sign-boards of the 'Royal Oak', the 'Queen's Arms', the 'Red Lion', 'All the World's Corner'?' Here is the suave English chemist, whose speech is so precise; English booksellers, three or four of them with fine shops; English doctors by the dozen; English grocers, who sell bacon and pickles, and style themselves 'Italian warehousemen', according to the classical tradition of their guild; English shop-keepers of all kinds; English hotels, and, of course, an English newspaper...Up there on the hill do I not spy an English church? All these business blocks, house after house, are not the firms English, with an intermixture of German? If you take away the English firms from Valparaiso, what remains?'¹³²

Russell recorded his first impressions of Valparaiso in an account which reflects his colonial perspective and was published after his return to Britain. The existence of a vibrant and influential community of foreigners was clearly evident:

It would, perhaps, be impertinent to inquire how much of the present prosperity of the port is due to the foreigners, who constitute to-day an important section of the citizens and inhabitants of the place.¹³³

One of these foreigners was Horace Nicholls. In September 1890 the local newspaper, *El Mercurio*, described Nicholls as '*un prominente miembro de la colonia inglesa de Valparaiso que ha vivido algunos anos en Chile.*'¹³⁴

As a 'prominent member of the English community', Nicholls may have met Russell and Prior socially during their stay in Valparaiso. On 16 April, 1889, North, Russell and Prior were the guests of honour at a dinner, hosted by a Mr Woodsend, 'one of

¹³² Theodore Child, *The Spanish-American Republics*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891, p.133.

¹³³ William Howard Russell, *A visit to Chile and the nitrate fields of Tarapaca*, London, J. S. Virtue & Co., 1890. p.73.

¹³⁴ 'A prominent member of the English community in Valparaiso who has lived in Chile for some years'. *El Mercurio*, 15 September, 1890 (unpaginated).

the foremost merchants of Valparaiso'.¹³⁵ A few days later, Nicholls would have had another opportunity to meet Valparaiso's distinguished visitors when 'A very grand banquet was given by Colonel North...to the principal English residents, the Consul, merchants, bankers &c of Valparaiso.'¹³⁶

Even if Nicholls did not attend these social events, there is evidence that during their time in Valparaiso Nicholls met Russell and Prior in his professional capacity as a photographer. Before moving on to Santiago, Russell and his entourage paid a visit to a local photographic studio to have their portraits taken.

So, when the customary tribute of sittings to the photographer's had been paid, and groups and portraits had been duly ordered and paid for too, we shook the dust – and there was plenty of it – of the Hotel de France off our feet, and took train for Santiago.¹³⁷

Russell does not give the name of the photographic studio he visited. In 1892, however, *The Strand* magazine published an interview with Russell, illustrated with a portrait reproduced from a recent photograph credited to 'Diaz, Spencer & Co, Valparaiso'.¹³⁸ In 1899, *The Sketch* magazine reproduced a portrait of Melton Prior to accompany an article on the war correspondents who were reporting on the South African War. This portrait is also credited to 'Diaz Spencer, Valparaiso'.¹³⁹

In *The Golden Summer*, Buckland speculates about Nicholls' employer in Chile that:

The name of the photographer for who he worked is unknown, but possibly Grabado Diaz I Spencer with his double-barrelled Spanish and English name could have been his employer.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Thomas Woodsend was a partner in the major import-export firm, Duncan Fox and Company, which had established an office in Valparaiso in 1876.

¹³⁶ Ibid. p.126. Vina del Mar, a prosperous suburb of Valparaiso, was where many wealthy foreigners chose to live. Vina del Mar had a racecourse where horse races were held every Sunday.

¹³⁷ Russell, *A visit to Chile*, p.85.

¹³⁸ 'Illustrated Interviews: No. XVIII – William Howard Russell', *The Strand*, Vol. 4, July-December, 1892, p. 566. Two years later, *The Sketch* reproduced the same portrait of Russell, credited to 'Diaz, Valparaiso' – *The Sketch*, 19 September, 1894, p. 432.

¹³⁹ 'Some of our Leading War-Correspondents', *The Sketch*, 29 November, 1899, p.17.

¹⁴⁰ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p.114.

In fact, the name 'Diaz I Spencer' actually refers to two separate photographers, rather than one with a double-barrelled name. Born in Santiago, Carlos Diaz Escudero was active as a portrait photographer from the 1860s. In 1879, Diaz formed a partnership with another photographer, Eduardo Clifford Spencer. Born in Iowa in the United States in 1844, Spencer migrated to Chile in the mid-1860s and by 1875 was operating a portrait studio in Valparaiso in partnership with a German photographer, Carlos Bischoff. Following the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1879, Diaz and Spencer were authorised by the Chilean government to record the fighting in northern Chile, Bolivia and Peru. Their photographs, including graphic images showing the dead and wounded, were shown in several exhibitions and widely circulated in *Albumes de la Guerra*, sold through Diaz's studio in Santiago. Diaz and Spencer are recognised as the first photojournalists in Chile.¹⁴¹

After the conclusion of the Pacific War in 1883, Diaz and Spencer continued their partnership, operating portrait studios in Santiago and Valparaiso and also exhibiting and selling topographic and touristic souvenir photographs. In March 1888, Valparaiso's *El Mercurio* newspaper announced that Diaz and Spencer had produced a series of photo-engravings which were now available in bound albums entitled *Recuerdos de Chile*. *Grabado* is the Spanish word for 'engraving' – hence, 'Grabado Diaz I Spencer'.¹⁴²

While there is no documentary proof, there is extremely strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that Nicholls was employed by the studio of Diaz and Spencer. When he returned to Britain, Nicholls brought back with him three *Recuerdos de Chile albums* published by 'Grabado Diaz I Spencer', which he retained for the rest of his life and are now in the family collection. Buckland suggests that Nicholls may have kept these albums because they contained examples of his work. Another, perhaps more likely explanation, is that Nicholls retained these albums purely for the purpose for which they were created – as pictorial souvenirs of his time in Chile – since they contain images which pre-date his arrival in Chile. The Nicholls family

¹⁴¹ Hernan Rodriguez Villegas, *Historia de la Fotografia: Fotografos en Chile durante el siglo XIX*, Santiago: Centro Nacional del Patrimonio Fotografico, 2001. p.94.

¹⁴² These albums were sold in Valparaiso at the English bookshop owned by Gordon, Henderson and Co. In 1876, two Scots, Stewart Ramsay Gordon and Andrew Henderson, had opened a shop at 11 calle Esmeralda, Valparaiso's main shopping street, selling books, newspapers and stationery, imported from Britain.

collection also contains several albumen prints of Chilean subjects. Two of these, *Tierra del Fuegian Indians* and *Chilean Women's Heads*, are variants of engravings which are included in the albums. One of these, however, *Flores Chilenas*, a composite mosaic of women's heads, was exhibited at the Photographers' Association of America convention held in St Louis in June 1886 and so could not have been taken by Nicholls who was still living in Britain at the time.¹⁴³

Colonel North, together with Russell and Prior, returned to Britain in July 1889. Russell and Prior immediately set about fulfilling their obligations to publicise their time in Chile. Many of Prior's sketches were reproduced to accompany a series of articles published in *The Illustrated London News*, starting in August 1889.¹⁴⁴ Several

¹⁴³ See *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, 11 September, 1886, p. 519 – 'Flores Chilenas by Diaz y Spencer, a handsome mosaic of beautiful Chilean ladies'. An engraving of a variant of the group photograph of 'Natives of Tierra del Fuego' was reproduced in *The Graphic* in 1887, credited to Diaz y Spencer – *The Graphic*, 24 September, 1887, p. 336.

¹⁴⁴ In 1992 the Museo Historico Nacional published a bilingual compilation of these articles as *Reportaje a Chile: Dibujos de Melton Prior y cronicas de Illustrated London News 1889-1891*. (*Report on Chile: Sketches by Melton Prior and reports in The Illustrated London News, 1889-1891*.) Santiago: Museo Historico Nacional, 1992. Whilst most of Prior's sketches were drawn by him on site, a few, notably those depicting the nitrate mines in northern Chile, were based on (indeed, in some cases, simply copied from) existing photographs. Compare, for example, Prior's sketches of 'Nitrate Works in Chile', published in *The Illustrated London News* (16 November, 1889, p.623) with Luis Boudat's photographs in his album *Salitreras de Tarapacá* (1889). Other sketches were based on photographs that Prior had taken himself. Blakemore claims that all of Prior's illustrations in Russell's *A Visit to Chile and the Nitrate Fields* (1890) were 'not drawn from life but were based on a collection of photographs taken during the visit, and now in the possession of Mrs V. Proctor'. See, Harold Blakemore, *British Nitrates and Chilean Politics, 1886-1896: Balmaceda and North*, London: The Athlone Press, 1974, p.95. For the last few years, Prior had taken to carrying a camera on his expeditions. Whilst stressing that 'Under no circumstances could I hope that the camera would take the place of the pencil and the sketch-book in the actual bustle of warfare' he felt that a portable camera 'would come in very useful in securing details of costumes, ceremonies, vegetation and similar objects.' Melton Prior (War Correspondent, *Illustrated London News*), 'Photography at the Seat of War', *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1887, pp.237-239. This article includes a remarkably prophetic description of the camera of the war correspondent of the future: 'I can conceive of a camera...which might be useful even during the heat of an engagement. It would have to be suspended around the neck by a strap...It must have a finder, in which at a moment any scene could be examined, the exposure to be made instantaneously...It would have to be so automatic in working that a fresh surface would be unwound or exposed...as soon as the preceding view had been obtained...the camera would have to be used as one does a revolver – a 'shot' here and there in quick succession if necessary...Who will introduce such a camera?' On his trip to Chile, Prior had used a hand or 'detective' camera: For a brief survey of the development of hand cameras during this period, see Colin Harding, 'Camera Design: Portable hand cameras 1880-1900' in John Hannavy (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp.249-251. 'I am pleased to think that at last I have come across the very camera that I wanted. I have tried it during three journeys, the last one being when I accompanied Colonel North to Chili (sic) and Peru, where I obtained some first-class instantaneous negatives which have been of great assistance since I returned, and a collection of which I have had the pleasure of presenting to Miss North (North's daughter, Emma, had accompanied him on his trip to Chile). This realisation of my wishes is, I am bound to own, due to Mr. Rouch, both for his camera and plates... I should now as soon think of going abroad without one of these apparatus as without my pencils or pistols'. William White Rouch was a camera and dry plate

of Prior's sketches were also used by Russell to illustrate his account of the expedition, *A Visit to Chile and the Nitrate Fields of Tarapaca*.¹⁴⁵

The Illustrated London News was distributed widely in Chile, sold by English stationers and booksellers and also available in the reading rooms of social clubs such as the Union Club in Valparaiso. Nicholls and the other British residents of the city, would have followed with interest the local scenes and events described in the magazine and illustrated by Melton Prior's sketches. By the time Russell's account of his visit to Chile was published, however, in May 1890, Nicholls was back in Britain.

In July 1890, back once more on the Isle of Wight, Horace Nicholls placed another advertisement in *The Photographic News*, once again looking for employment: 'Re-engagement required by operator accustomed to high-class work'.¹⁴⁶ Significantly, by this time, four years on from his previous advertisement, he describes himself as an 'operator' rather than an 'assistant' and is now looking for a situation more commensurate with his maturity and experience.

Nicholls was soon on the move once again. This time, however, his journey was much more modest - to Windsor in Berkshire and to the studio of George Piner Cartland.¹⁴⁷

In May 1885 Cartland had taken over a studio at 13 High Street, Windsor, previously occupied by a William Carpenter.¹⁴⁸ In November that year Cartland was elected a

manufacturer with premises at 180 Strand, London. See, Norman Channing and Mike Dunn, *British Camera Makers*, Esher: Parkland Designs, 1996, pp.109-110. Melton Prior (Special War Artist to the *Illustrated London News*), 'The Photo Requirements of a War Artist', *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1891, pp.683-684. Prior used Rouch's 'Eureka' hand camera, one of the most popular magazine plate cameras of the time. See, Brian Coe, *Cameras: From Daguerreotypes to Instant Pictures*, London: Marshall Cavendish, 1978, pp.67-68.

¹⁴⁵ William Howard Russell, *A visit to Chile and the nitrate fields of Tarapaca*, London, J. S. Virtue & Co., 1890.

¹⁴⁶ *The Photographic News*, 4 July 1890, p. 528. As with his previous advertisement looking for employment, the address for replies is once again given as 'Cyprus Villa, Sandown Isle of Wight'.

¹⁴⁷ George Piner Cartland did not start out as a photographer. His father, also called George, was a successful Windsor businessman and George Jnr followed his example. In 1882, father and son were joint directors of the Royal Land, Investment and Building Society, offering 'large or small loans on favourable terms' from their office in Windsor High Street. At this time, George Jnr was also a proficient photographer. In April 1884 he took a series of photographs of the funeral procession of the Duke of Albany, Queen Victoria's youngest son, as it wound through the centre of Windsor. He then proceeded to sell copies of these from the Building Society offices which he referred to as the 'Royal Photographic Studio'.

¹⁴⁸ See *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 9 May 1885, p.1. Cartland also bought Carpenter's negatives, from which he supplied copies and enlargements. The building now houses a restaurant but the large windows on the first floor are evidence of its earlier use.

member of the Photographic Society of Great Britain and went on to exhibit his work at the society's annual exhibitions between 1886 and 1892.¹⁴⁹ He had the good fortune to receive royal patronage. In 1886 he was commissioned by Queen Victoria to take a series of 'portraits' of her dogs. These were subsequently exhibited at the Photographic Society's annual exhibition that year where they won a medal.¹⁵⁰ As well as royal dogs, Cartland also photographed royal children and members of staff of the royal household, which led to him being granted a Royal Warrant as 'Photographer to Her Majesty at Windsor' on 2 August, 1887.¹⁵¹

Cartland was a busy man. As well as his nascent photography business, he was the manager of the Royal Windsor Building Society.¹⁵² In September 1889, Cartland's father died, leaving George and his brother to manage the family's many business interests.¹⁵³ In the circumstances, it would have made sense for Cartland to employ an operator to look after the day to day running of the studio, leaving him free to concentrate on the more important, including royal, commissions.

It is not known exactly when Nicholls moved to Windsor but he was working at Cartland's studio by January 1891.¹⁵⁴ In the 1891 census, recorded in April that year, Nicholls gave his occupation as 'photographer's assistant'.¹⁵⁵ He seems, however, to

¹⁴⁹ See *The Photographic Journal*, 27 November, 1885, p.25.

¹⁵⁰ See Eve Blantyre Simpson, 'The Queen's Dogs', *The Art Journal*, July 1887, pp.241-244. Also, Sophie Gordon, *Noble Hounds and Dear Companions*, London: The Royal Collection, 2007. Over 90 of Cartland's photographs are now in the Royal Collection - <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/page/1> (accessed 27/03/2018).

¹⁵¹ See Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown & Camera: The Royal Family and Photography, 1842-1910*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987, p.213. Also, *The Photographic News*, 26 August, 1887, p.536. Since the Queen was far fonder of dogs than of children, it was probably his canine photography which led to Cartland being granted a Royal Warrant.

¹⁵² *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 30 January, 1892, p.4.

¹⁵³ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 28 September, 1889, p.4. As if this were not enough, he was also a committee member for The Royal Windsor Infirmary and the founder and chairman of the Windsor and District Bee-Keepers Association, which held their meetings at his studio – see *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 1 February, 1890, p.4.

¹⁵⁴ At this time, *The Illustrated London News* describes him as 'Mr. H.W. Nicholls of Windsor' - *The Illustrated London News*, 31 January, 1891, p.150.

¹⁵⁵ At the time the census was taken Nicholls was living at Western Cottage, Bachelors Acre, lodging with William G. Smart, a bookseller's manager. Interestingly, he gives his age as 25 – he was, in fact, 24 at the time. Horace was not the only member of the Nicholls family living in Windsor at the time. His younger brother, Ernest is recorded in the census as also living in Windsor, employed as a 'grocer's assistant'. Ernest was living at 66 Castle Hill, Windsor. It is not known whether Ernest moved to Windsor on Horace's recommendation, or vice versa. It is possible that Ernest was already living in Windsor and told Horace that there was a vacancy for an operator at Cartland's studio.

have soon been given a more responsible role, being described the following year as the 'manager' of the studio.¹⁵⁶

Nicholls' decision to return to Britain in 1890 may have been prompted by the deteriorating political situation in South America. His return meant that he missed an opportunity to photograph the dramatic events which were unfolding in Chile. At the same time, however, being back in Britain presented him with an opportunity to supply photographs to the press for publication for the first time.¹⁵⁷

In January 1891, a violent insurrection broke out in Chile against the government of President Balmaceda. With the outbreak of civil war, Chile suddenly became newsworthy. Editors of illustrated magazines were eager for images that could accompany their written accounts of the civil war. Sketches made by Melton Prior nearly two years earlier were once again pressed into service, with quotidian subjects such as 'Fruit-Sellers at a Railway Station' taking on a new topicality.¹⁵⁸ Any illustrations that depicted Chilean subjects suddenly became 'newsworthy' and sought after. For Nicholls, with a collection of photographs taken or acquired during his time in Chile, this was an opportunity to both raise his professional profile and make some money.

The Illustrated London News for 31 January 1891 included a selection of illustrations of Chilean subjects:

We are furnished by Mr. H.W. Nicholls of Windsor who lived some years in South America, with a collection of photographs from which our present illustrations are selected. They include also the groups of the officers and crew of the *Blanco Encalada*, the most powerful ironclad warship of the fleet which has joined in the present naval

¹⁵⁶ See *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 27 August, 1892 p.4.

¹⁵⁷ For a detailed history of photomechanical reproduction and the growth of the Victorian illustrated press, see Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social history of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

¹⁵⁸ 'Sketches in Chile, South America', *The Illustrated London News*, 24 January, 1891, p.101. The caption for these images, reproduced in *Reportaje a Chile: Dibujos de Melton Prior y crónicas de Illustrated London News 1889-1891*, p.170, states that they are *Grabado de dibujos de Melton Prior, de fotografías de H. W. Nicholls* (Prints from sketches by Melton Prior and from photographs by H.W. Nicholls.) However, I have found no evidence to support this. They are certainly not credited as such in the I.L.N.

revolt against the government of Don Jose Balmaceda, President of the Republic.¹⁵⁹ (Figure 1. 3)

This is the first time that photographs by, or supplied by, Nicholls were reproduced in a British magazine. Nicholls may have been encouraged to submit these photographs to the press by his employer, George Cartland. Cartland had experience of supplying images to the illustrated press, having had one of his photographs reproduced as a wood engraving by *The Illustrated London News* as early as 1883.¹⁶⁰

The following week, *The Graphic* also published a selection of engravings on 'The Revolt in Chili' (sic). These included a portrait of President Balmaceda, *A Group of Chilian Officers on Board a Man of War*, and *A Chilian Beauty*:

Our engravings of Chili and its people are from photographs sent us by Mr. W.H. Nicholls who has just returned from a stay of some years in the country.¹⁶¹

The portrait of Balmaceda is reproduced from a photograph taken at the studio of Diaz and Spencer.¹⁶² (Figure 1.4) It is highly unlikely that Nicholls, as an assistant operator at the studio, would have been entrusted with the honour of taking the Chilean President's portrait. Engravings made from this portrait of Balmaceda were used, uncredited, in several contemporary magazines.¹⁶³ (Figure 1.5) It is significant that when Nicholls is mentioned, the photograph is described as being 'sent' or 'supplied' by Nicholls, rather than being *taken* by him.¹⁶⁴ If, as is almost certainly the

¹⁵⁹*The Illustrated London News*, 31 January, 1891, p.150. The *Blanco Encalada* was built in England in for the Chilean navy by Earle's Shipbuilding Company, Hull. Launched in 1875 as the *Valparaiso*, she was renamed the following year after Manuel Blanco Encalada (1790-1876), Chile's first President. Other illustrations in the same issue also credited to Nicholls were *Congress House of the Chilian Cortes at Santiago*, *A Chilian Naval Officer* and *Harbour and City of Valparaiso*. These are all reproduced as halftones made by the Meisenbach company. In 1884 the German, George Meisenbach, opened the first business in Britain making halftone plates, based on his patented process. For many years, 'Meisenbach' was the generic term for halftone. See Beegan p.76.

¹⁶⁰ This was a portrait of the then Mayor of Windsor, Sir Joseph Devereux. *The Illustrated London News*, Saturday 1 September, 1883, p.1.

¹⁶¹ *The Graphic*, 7 February, 1891, p.161.

¹⁶² See <https://www.maremagnum.com/fotografie/foto-albumina-jose-manuel-balmaceda-by-diaz-spencer-santiago/130013099> (accessed 2/01/2020).

¹⁶³ See, for example, *The Illustrated London News*, 24 January, 1891, p.103. *The Illustrated London News*, 29 August, 1891, p.270. *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 29 August, 1891, p.136.

case, however, Nicholls had worked with Diaz and Spencer, he would have been able to acquire an example.

On 23 April 1891, a Chilean government warship, the *Blanco Encalada*, was attacked by two rebel gunboats, the *Almirante Lynch* and the *Almirante Condell*. The ironclad was struck by a torpedo fired by the *Almirante Lynch* and sank within minutes, with the loss of 182 of the 288 men on board.¹⁶⁵ Nicholls' photographs of the officers and crew of the *Blanco Encalada*, which had been published three months earlier in *The Illustrated London News*, now acquired a fresh topicality.

On 2 May, *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times* reproduced a photograph of the *Blanco Encalada*'s officers: 'Her officers are represented ... from the photograph by Mr. Horace Nicholls, 13 High Street Windsor, photographer to the Queen'.¹⁶⁶ The following week, *The Graphic* reproduced Nicholls' photographs of both the officers and the crew: 'The groups are from photographs taken by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls just before leaving Chili (sic) lately, so no doubt the ill-fated men here depicted were on board the vessel when she sank.'¹⁶⁷ Unlike the earlier, somewhat ambiguous, credit in *The Illustrated London News*, these photographs are now credited as having been 'taken' by Nicholls rather than being 'furnished' by him.

In September 1891, reporting on President Balmaceda's subsequent defeat and subsequent surrender to the Congressional forces, *The Illustrated London News* published three full pages of illustrations of Chilean views.¹⁶⁸ While none of these illustrations is individually credited (although one is clearly from a sketch by Melton Prior made in 1889), several of them can be linked to photographs previously credited to Nicholls or which are now in the Nicholls family archive.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ 'We have to acknowledge that the likeness is from a photograph supplied by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls, 13 High Street Windsor.' *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 29 August, 1891, p.136.

¹⁶⁵ This was a significant event in the history of naval warfare – the first time that a battleship had been sunk by a self-propelled torpedo. See, Roger Branfill-Cook, *Torpedo: The Complete History of the World's Most Revolutionary Naval Weapon*, Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2014, p.173.

¹⁶⁶ *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 2 May, 1891, p.278. George Piner Cartland had been awarded a Royal Warrant as 'Photographer to her Majesty at Windsor' on 2 August 1887. As an assistant at Cartland's studio, Nicholls was not entitled to call himself 'Photographer to the Queen'.

¹⁶⁷ *The Graphic*, 9 May, 1891, p.524.

¹⁶⁸ *The Illustrated London News*, 5 September, 1891, pp.301, 308 and 309.

¹⁶⁹ While Nicholls is not credited with taking or supplying any of the photographs reproduced in *The Illustrated London News* on 5 September 1891, there was clearly a direct link, either through Nicholls supplying these photographs directly to the magazine or by the magazine acquiring them from the same source as Nicholls –

A view of the Congress House in Santiago, previously reproduced by *The Illustrated London News* on 31 January and credited as 'furnished by Mr. H.W. Nicholls', is now reproduced as a wood engraving rather than a halftone, reworked by the engraver with the addition of several figures to add an element of movement and human interest.¹⁷⁰ (Figures 1.6 and 1.7) On the same page, there is an engraving of the *Corpus Christi* procession in Santiago. This the same image as an albumen photograph which is now in the Nicholls family collection. (Figures 1.8 and 1.9)

On the opposite page to the view of the *Corpus Christi* procession, *The Illustrated London News*, reproduced a photograph of *Some English Residents in Chile* and a studio portrait of a man dressed in *Chilian Riding Costume*.¹⁷¹ A careful study of an albumen print now in the Nicholls family collection, annotated *Limache, Chile, February 1890*, reveals that it includes some of the same group of people shown in *Some English Residents in Chile*.¹⁷² (Figures 1.10 and 1.11)

Nicholls would have learnt several important lessons from his first experiences of supplying images to the press. Firstly, supplying photographs represented a valuable potential additional source of income to supplement studio-based work. Secondly, photographs retained, or could even increase, their illustrative and financial value even after they had been published. For example, Nicholls' photographs of the crew of the *Blanco Encalada* being published in *The Graphic* in May 1891, three months after they had first appeared in *The Illustrated London News*. Thirdly, the same photographs could be sold to several different magazines at the same time; Nicholls' group portrait of the officers of the *Blanco Encalada*, for example, being reproduced in both *The Graphic* and *The Penny Illustrated Paper* on successive weeks in May 1891. Crucially, Nicholls would also have learnt the importance of being aware of and being able to respond quickly to opportunities as they presented themselves. Since he had recently returned from the country, the outbreak of the civil war in Chile represented a commercial opportunity for Nicholls that he was quick to exploit, as

most probably the studio of Diaz and Spencer.

¹⁷⁰*The Illustrated London News*, 31 January, 1891, p.150 and *The Illustrated London News*, 5 September, 1891, p.308.

¹⁷¹*The Illustrated London News*, 5 September, 1891, p.309.

¹⁷² Both photographs were clearly taken on the same day at the same location – the characteristic bow-backed chairs have been moved from the veranda of the house out into the garden.

was the unexpected sinking of the *Blanco Encalada*. These are not just lessons for Nicholls but revealing insights into the nature of photographic business and the visual economy during this period.

Through his possible contribution to, or merely by his purchase and ownership of, the *Recuerdos de Chile* albums, Nicholls had also gained some experience of the commercial potential of the publication of small collections of photographs in bound albums. Clear similarities with the *Recuerdos de Chile* albums can be seen with the two paper-bound albums of photogravures that Nicholls subsequently published in South Africa a few years later – *Johannesburg* and *Stirring Events in Johannesburg 1896*.¹⁷³

Nicholls' time at the Cartland studio in Windsor broadened his practical knowledge and gave him his first managerial experience. He also gained valuable experience in working outside the studio, producing views of urban landscapes, similar to those his father had taken in Cambridge 20 years earlier. In 1892, he was entrusted by Cartland to take the majority of a series of 250 touristic views of 'Windsor, Eton and the district, most of which are quite dissimilar and superior in finish to any that have hitherto been offered to the public'.¹⁷⁴ Nicholls would also have been aware that Cartland was taking the trouble of to register some of his photographs for copyright at Stationer's Hall, something which he had also seen his father do.¹⁷⁵

Windsor's most important and long-lasting legacy, however, was personal rather than professional. It was while he was working at Cartland's studio that Horace Nicholls met his future wife, Florence Holderness.

Born in April 1866, to George Holderness and his wife, Jane, Florence Holderness was George Cartland's cousin.¹⁷⁶ In 1854, George's sister had married George

¹⁷³ Copies of these albums are in the Royal Photographic Society Collection.

¹⁷⁴ 'New Views of Windsor', *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 27 August, 1892 p.4. It has also been claimed that Nicholls was 'occasionally summoned by Queen Victoria to give instruction in photography to her guests' but I have been unable to find any evidence to substantiate this - See Cecil Beaton and Gail Buckland, *The Magic Image: The Genius of Photography*, London: Pavilion Books, 1989, p.126.

¹⁷⁵ For examples of Cartland's copyright registration forms, see the National Archives COPY 1/404/441 and COPY 1/404/473, 22 June, 1891.

¹⁷⁶ Florence was born on 24 April, 1866. George Holderness was a well-known figure in Windsor, a town councillor and a baker who supplied bread and biscuits to Windsor Castle.

Cartland's father.¹⁷⁷ In the 1891 census, Florence's occupation is recorded as 'photographers assistant'. The name of the photographer she worked for is not recorded, but it is reasonable to assume that she would have worked for her cousin, George Cartland. Horace Nicholls and Florence Holderness met at Cartland's studio and romance blossomed.

If Nicholls had found love, he was not quite yet ready to settle down. In September 1892 he boarded the SS Athenian in Southampton and sailed to South Africa to embark on the next chapter of his life in Johannesburg.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ 'Married on the 21st Inst at St Martin's-in-the-fields, London...Mr. George Cartland of Eton, to Miss Holderness of Peascod Street, Windsor', *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 25 November, 1854, p.4.

¹⁷⁸ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 24 September, 1892, p.4. For the Union Line shipping timetable, see *The Waterford Chronicle*, Saturday 10 September 1892, p.2.

Chapter One - Illustrations



Figure 1.1 – Arthur Nicholls, The construction of Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge. Cambridge Central Library Local Studies Collection– H.A. J63 7779.



Figure 1.2. Frederick Daniel Hardy, *The Young Photographers*, 1862. Tunbridge Wells Museum and Art Gallery - 1952.86.23

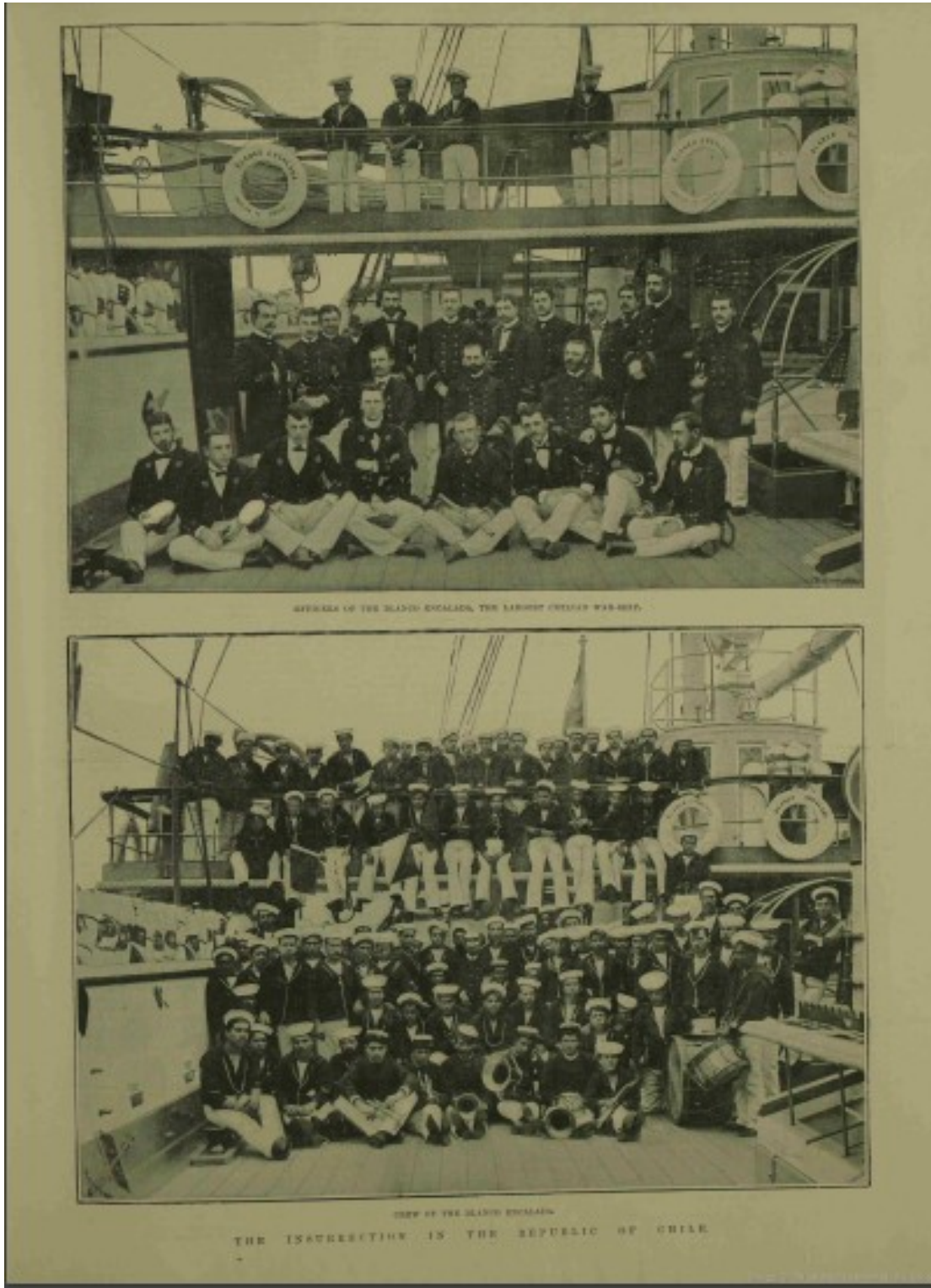


Figure 1.3. Officers and crew of the Blanco Encalada. *The Illustrated London News*, 31 January, 1891



Figure 1.4 Cabinet card portrait of President Balmaceda, 1891 by Diaz and Spencer.
<https://www.maremagnum.com/fotografie/foto-albumina-jose-manuel-balmaceda-by-diaz-spencer-santiago/130013099>

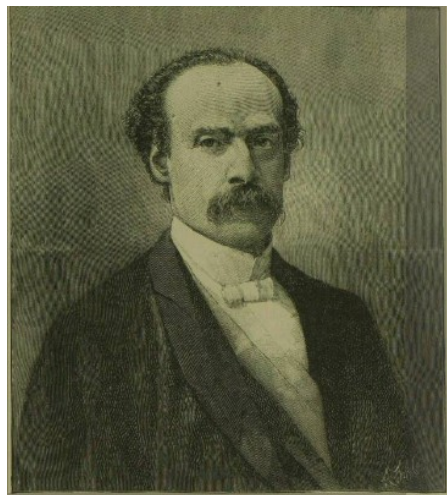


Figure 1.5 Portrait of President Balmaceda. *The Illustrated London News*, 24 January, 1891.

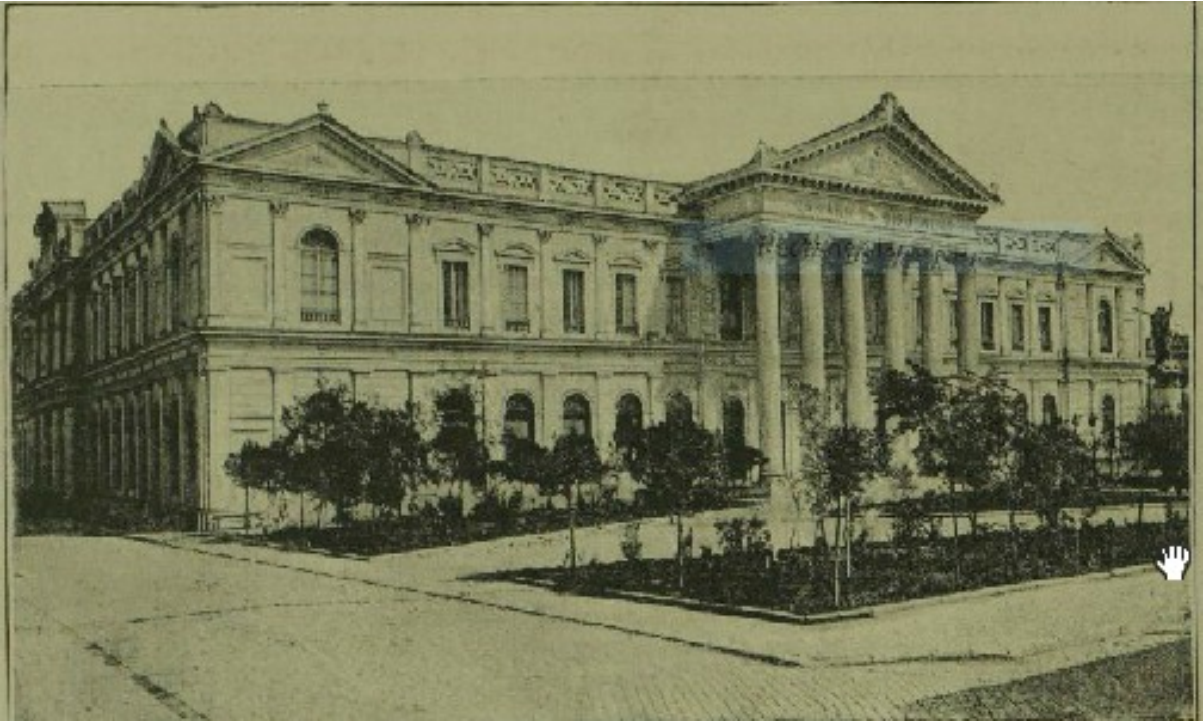


Figure 1.6 *The Illustrated London News*, 31 January, 1891

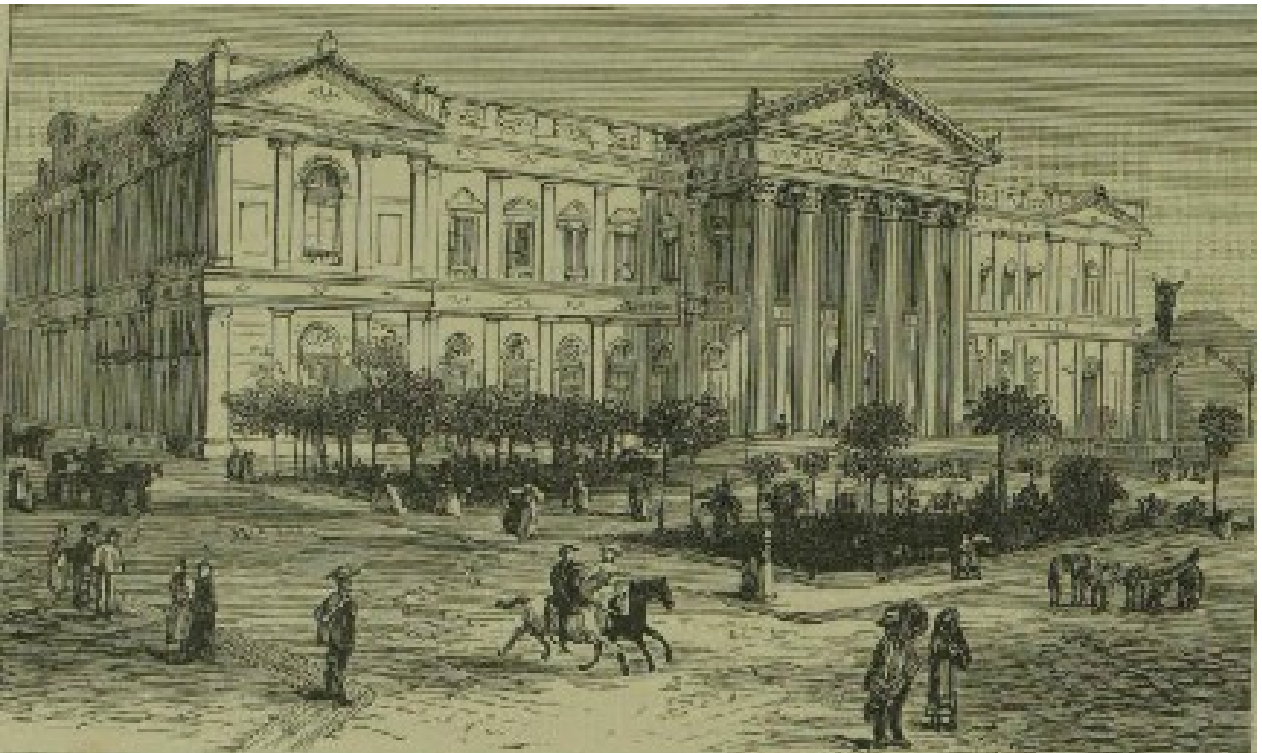


Figure 1.7. *The Illustrated London News*, 5 September, 1891

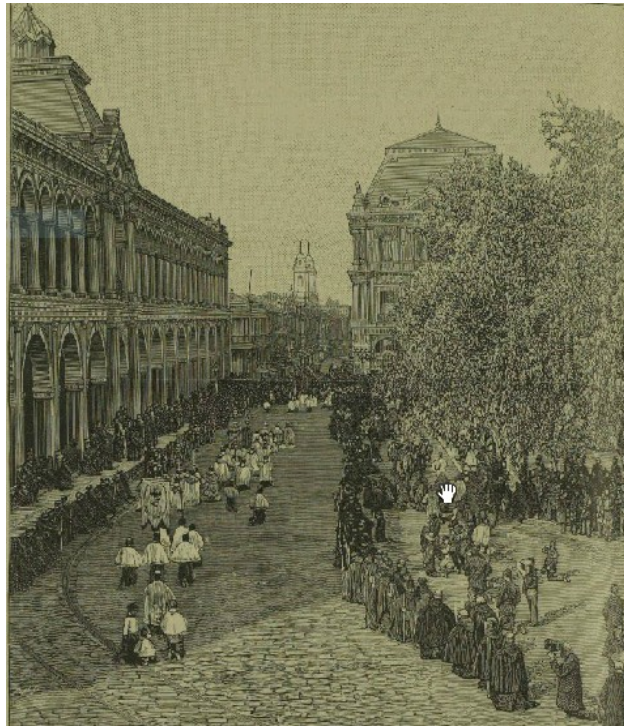


Figure 1.8 'Procession of Corpus Christi at Santiago', The Illustrated London News, 5 September, 1891.



Figure 1.9. Nicholls family archive.



Figure 1.10. 'Some English Residents in Chile'. The Illustrated London News, 5 September, 1891.



Figure 1.11 – *Limache, Chile, February 1890*. Nicholls family archive.

CHAPTER TWO

Stirring Events

On 6 October 1892 Horace Nicholls arrived in Cape Town, South Africa, on board the SS Athenian. From there he boarded a train for the 800-mile journey to Johannesburg, arriving two and a half days later.¹⁷⁹

Following the discovery in 1886 on the Witwatersrand of the world's most extensive gold deposits, Johannesburg had grown at a phenomenal rate. What had been until recently a collection of isolated farmsteads had become a large town, its rapid growth fuelled by the gold rush.¹⁸⁰ In 1889, Sir Frederick Young, a British traveller and writer on Imperial affairs, visited Johannesburg and recorded his impressions:

Scarcely more than two years have elapsed since this town of twenty-five thousand inhabitants commenced its miraculous existence. The excitement and bustle of the motley crowd of gold seekers and gold finders is tremendous, the whole of the live-long day. The incessant subject of all conversation is gold, gold, gold... The people of Johannesburg think of gold; they talk of gold, they dream of gold. I believe, if they could, they would eat and drink gold...It is to be hoped that the day will come when the legitimate pursuit of wealth will be followed in a less excitable, and a more calm and decorous manner, than at present regrettably prevails.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ The railway line from Cape Town to Johannesburg had only recently been completed. The first train from the Cape arrived in Johannesburg just three weeks earlier, on 14 September, 1892. See L. E. Neame, *City Built on Gold*, Parow: Central News Agency, No date, c.1960, p.91. The coming of the railway transformed Johannesburg's connection with the Cape and, by extension, with the rest of the world, leading to a rapid influx of 'Uitlanders'.

¹⁸⁰ For histories of Johannesburg, see Gerald Anton Leyds, *A History of Johannesburg: The Early Years*, Johannesburg: NasionalBoekhandel, 1964, L. E. Neame, *City Built on Gold*, Parow: Central News Agency, no date, c.1960, Keith Beavon, *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City*, Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2004 and John R. Shorten, *The Johannesburg Saga*, Johannesburg: John R. Shorten, 1966.

¹⁸¹ Sir Frederick Young, *A Winter Tour in South Africa*, London: E. A. Petherick & Co, 1890, pp. 54-55.

When Nicholls arrived, three years later, he was one of many thousands of foreigners or 'Uitlanders' who had made their way to Johannesburg in the 'pursuit of wealth'.¹⁸² British capital dominated the investment in the goldfields and the mine owners, known as the 'Randlords' were nearly all British. So too were most of the mining engineers and mechanics since very few Transvaalers had the necessary education or skills. As Johannesburg grew, a wide range of ancillary occupations and professions were also dominated by the British. These included accountants, clerks, teachers, lawyers, doctors, hotel and shop-keepers and photographers.¹⁸³

In 1891 Lord Randolph Churchill had visited Johannesburg:

Johannesburg presents a very English appearance, that of an English manufacturing town minus its noise, smoke and dirt. The streets are crowded with a busy, bustling, active, keen, intelligent-looking throng. Here are gathered together human beings from every quarter of the globe, the English possessing an immense predominance.¹⁸⁴

As with Valparaiso - 'quite an English city' - Nicholls' decision to move to Johannesburg was probably shaped primarily by its Britishness.

The 1896 census recorded the white population of Johannesburg as 50,907, of whom, 16,000 were British - well outnumbering the 6,000 native Transvaalers.¹⁸⁵ In less than ten years, Johannesburg had been transformed from a few farms on the veldt into a modern city. That year, another prominent British visitor, The Earl of Dunmore, described it as 'A New Eldorado', amazed that in so short a space of time it had become:

a large, prosperous city, teeming with workers of different industries
– a city of fine broad streets and finer buildings (sure indications of

¹⁸² For a detailed study of British immigration to South Africa, see John Stone, *Colonist or Uitlander*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

¹⁸³ By the early 1890s, several photographers had already established studios in Johannesburg. Longland's directory, published in 1893, lists eight photographic studios, including those of Goch and Duffus. See *Longland's Johannesburg and District Directory*, Johannesburg: Henry Longland, 1893, p. 301.

¹⁸⁴ Lord Randolph S. Churchill, *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa*, London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co, 1897, p. 58.

¹⁸⁵ Frank Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, London: Harper Collins, 2000, p.302.

the great wealth of their occupants) – a city of electric light and tramways, of hotels, clubs, restaurants, theatres, music-halls, cricket and polo grounds, and two racecourses – a city with a population of 60,000 souls, three daily and three weekly papers, only forty-nine hours from Capetown and only 450 hours from London.¹⁸⁶

The opinions of travellers such as Lord Randolph Churchill and the Earl of Dunmore reflected, of course, the imperialist/colonial perspective of the British establishment. This was the political and economic context in which Nicholls chose to migrate to South Africa. The pursuit of wealth was still the primary motive for migration. As a contemporary commentator noted, most Englishmen went to Johannesburg to ‘make their pile and clear’.¹⁸⁷ In this respect, Nicholls was no different to the ‘many eager young Britishers who are seeking their fortune’.¹⁸⁸ His motive for travelling to South Africa was primarily financial and he regarded his migration as temporary – a chance to make enough money to enable him to return to Britain and live comfortably. As he later explained to the audience at a lantern lecture he gave in 1900:

He had lived eight years in Johannesburg and had a comfortable home there as a resident and a business man. The climate was an ideal one and the mode of living free from all conventionality. Still, with all these blessings, he had looked forward to the time when he could return to old England and settle there with his family.¹⁸⁹

Nicholls’ residence in South Africa was, in fact, probably longer than he first envisaged, having initially ‘been offered and accepted an appointment as artist for three years’.¹⁹⁰ In Johannesburg, Nicholls’ employer was James Frederick Goch. Born in Swellendam in 1854, Goch opened a studio in Paarl in 1882. In 1888 he moved to Johannesburg where he built a studio at 67 Pritchard Street – a small, single-storey building with a gable in the Cape Dutch style upon which was painted

¹⁸⁶ The Earl of Dunmore, ‘A New Eldorado’, *The Pall Mall Magazine*, January 1896, pp. 146-152.

¹⁸⁷ A. Wyatt Tilby, *The English People Overseas: Volume VI, South Africa, 1486-1913*, London: Constable & Co, 1914, p.446.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Johannesburg, South Africa’, *The Illustrated London News*, 24 August, 1895, p. 228.

¹⁸⁹ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 3 March 1900, p.8.

¹⁹⁰ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, Saturday 27 August 1892, p.4.

in large letters 'J. F. Goch. Portrait Gallery and Photographic Studio'.¹⁹¹ A far-sighted man, Goch bought not only the plot of land on which his studio stood, but also the plots on either side as well as in several other parts of Johannesburg. As land prices rocketed, he became increasingly involved in property speculation, eventually becoming a very rich man.¹⁹² In 1892 Goch moved to a larger studio in a newly-constructed building just a few doors away, at 63 Pritchard Street.¹⁹³ It was this move to new premises, just when his other business interests were taking up an increasing amount of his time and attention that probably prompted Goch's decision to stand back a little from photography and employ a chief operator. It is unclear exactly how Nicholls ended up working for Goch. He may have responded to an advertisement in the photographic press.¹⁹⁴ It is far more likely, however, that Nicholls learnt of the vacancy through John Duffus, in whose studio he had probably worked in Huddersfield. John Duffus had migrated to South Africa with his brother, William, in 1889, establishing a successful photographic studio in Joubert Street, Johannesburg, in about 1891. Nicholls might be considered to be a potential business rival. However, according to a biographical sketch written by one of his sons, John Duffus was a close friend of James Goch's brother, George Goch and was also, at some point, one of James Goch's tenants.¹⁹⁵ Johannesburg was booming and there was sufficient work to support several different studios. Indeed, in 1893, there were five studios in Pritchard Street alone.¹⁹⁶ Goch had chosen the location for his studio well. Pritchard Street was 'rapidly becoming the street of

¹⁹¹ For further information about James Goch, see A. D. Bensusan, *Silver Images: History of Photography in Africa*, Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1966, pp. 41-42. See also A. D. Bensusan, 'Nineteenth Century Photographers in South Africa', *Africana Notes and News*, Volume 15, Number 6, 1963, pp. 219-252 and *Early Photographers of South Africa* website -<https://johannaclaassen.wordpress.com/tag/photographers/> (accessed 01/05/2018). In 1889, Goch took a photograph of Pritchard Street, with his studio in the foreground – RPS 2003-5001_0002_27611.

¹⁹² The Goch family were very well-respected members of Johannesburg society. James' brother, George Goch, was the director of several goldmining companies and was Mayor of Johannesburg between 1904 and 1905.

¹⁹³ The next occupant of Goch's old studio replaced the gable with a second storey. Until its demolition in 1979, it was the oldest surviving building in central Johannesburg – see N. Cowan, 'Another Johannesburg Landmark Disappears', *Africana Notes and News*, Vol 23, No 6. June 1979, p.261.

¹⁹⁴ The obvious publication in which to place such an advertisement would have been *The Photographic News*. However, I have been unable to find any job advert in this magazine by Goch.

¹⁹⁵ See Dr R. M. Pelteret, *Duffus Bros of Cape Town and Johannesburg* - www.pelteret.co.za/content/000169/Duffus-Bros-of-Cape-Town-and-Johannesburg.pdf (accessed 8/05/2018). It is possible that in 1892 Duffus was a tenant at Goch's studio and Nicholls was once again employed by him as his assistant.

¹⁹⁶ These were Davies Bros, Devine Bros, J. R. Gannon, J. F. Goch and E. Lewin. See *Longland's Johannesburg and District Directory*, 1893, p. 301.

streets in Johannesburg as far as retail business is concerned'. The road had been metalled in 1892 and the absence of mud and dust made it 'a favourite promenade with the ladies'.¹⁹⁷

In April 1893, six months after his arrival, Nicholls described his early impressions of Johannesburg in a letter addressed to the editors of local newspapers in Windsor and the Isle of Wight. While he was critical of the high cost of living and the prevalence of drinking establishments, he was surprised and impressed by what he had found, reflecting, no doubt, a prior perception of Africa and the colonies:

Most modern appliances are to be found here, viz, electric light, gas, telephone telegraph and a good tram service...The town supports six publications, all printed here...All this will seem the more wonderful when it is taken into consideration that the railway only reached here some six months ago, and until that time everything had to be brought here by transport ox wagons.

His opinion of the Transvaal government, however, was not so positive:

...the Transvaal itself though called a republic is most autocratic, being to a very undesirable extent under the control of President Paul Kruger, who though perhaps a clever diplomat in his way is a most illiterate man and the head of a corrupt government.¹⁹⁸

The political situation aside, life in Johannesburg clearly suited Nicholls. He must have been happy with his new employer and his future career prospects since in autumn 1893 he returned briefly to Windsor where, on 11 October, he married Florence Holderness, the niece of his former employer, George Cartland.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in Neame, *City Built on Gold*, p. 121.

¹⁹⁸ *The Isle of Wight Chronicle*, 25 May, 1893.

¹⁹⁹ It is not known whether Nicholls was engaged to Florence Holderness before he went to South Africa in 1892 or whether he later proposed by letter. Nicholls was in regular contact with Florence throughout 1893. In February 1893, for example, he sent her some specimen photographs of African locusts which she exhibited to great interest at a soiree of the Windsor and Eton Scientific Society. See *The Transvaal Mining Argus*, 28 February, 1893.

Two weeks later the newly-weds sailed for South Africa to begin their married life.²⁰⁰ Nicholls rented in a large house in the prosperous Johannesburg neighbourhood of Belgravia which he named 'Windsor House'.²⁰¹ Possibly through his recommendation, and certainly with his encouragement, two of Nicholls' younger brothers, Herbert and Stanley, soon came out to South Africa to join him.²⁰² Stanley, who was aged just 16, initially worked with Nicholls at the Goch Studio and went on to have a long and successful career in South Africa as a photographer.

On 1 September 1894, Horace and Florence's first child, George, was born, followed in 1897 by a daughter, Gertrude.

Professionally as well as personally, Nicholls was doing well. At the Goch Studio, he was initially employed as 'chief operator' - a role similar to that he had performed at the Cartland Studio in Windsor. In February 1893 he was described by a Johannesburg newspaper as 'a member of staff of one of our local firms'.²⁰³ By October 1895, he is described as 'the sole and very capable manager' of Goch's studio and by 1900 he had become 'proprietor of the Goch Photo Art Studio, Johannesburg'.²⁰⁴ Nicholls probably took over the studio early in 1896. A devout Christian, James Goch was devoting an increasing amount of his time to evangelical work. In August 1895 Goch travelled to Britain, where he gave a series of lectures on 'the Lord's work in South Africa'.²⁰⁵ The following year, Goch spent several weeks

²⁰⁰ Ibid. They left Southampton on board the *SS Scot* on 28 October.

²⁰¹ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 18 January, 1896, p.4. One of their neighbours was Abe Bailey, one of the richest men in Johannesburg. Coincidentally, Bailey also had a close connection with Windsor, having been educated at Windsor's Clewer House School. Sir Abraham (Abe) Bailey (1864-1940) was born in South Africa but educated in England. A friend of Cecil Rhodes, he owned gold and diamond mines and by the 1930s was one of the world's richest men. He was a member of the Johannesburg Reform Committee and fined for his involvement in the Jameson Raid. He was also a talented cricketer and captain of the Transvaal cricket team.

²⁰² Herbert, in June 1894 and Stanley the following month.

²⁰³ *The Transvaal Mining Argus*, 28 February, 1893.

²⁰⁴ *The Star*, Johannesburg, 22 October, 1895. *Windsor and Eton Express*, 15 December 1900, p. 8. The critical year seems to have been 1895, coinciding, perhaps, significantly, with a brief return visit that Nicholls made to Britain at that time – he photographed the ice floes that formed on the Thames near Tower Bridge in February that year during the severe winter. It is not known whether Florence and George accompanied him but it is likely that he would have wanted to introduce George, who would then have been a few months old, to his grandparents. Florence's father, George Holderness had died in 1894 and she would have wanted to see her mother. George Holderness did not make a will but in May that year his estate valued at £450 18s 8d passed to his wife, Jane. It is speculation, but perhaps Florence inherited some money which Nicholls then invested in the Goch Studio.

²⁰⁵ On 12 August 1895 he spoke at the Jamaica Street Hall in Edinburgh. *Edinburgh Evening News*, 12 August, 1895, p. 1.

with the leper colony on Robben Island ‘for the purpose of holding a series of Gospel Services’.²⁰⁶ With his mind on higher things, and financially secure through his property investments, Goch probably welcomed the opportunity of passing on the responsibility for his studio to his ‘very capable’ manager. Nicholls, understanding the importance of having a well-established business and the influence that the Goch family enjoyed in Johannesburg, retained the Goch Studio name, but added his own, becoming ‘Horace W. Nicholls, The Goch Studio’.²⁰⁷ Studio cabinet card mounts now carried Nicholls’ signature instead of Goch’s and Nicholls’ monogram replaced that of Goch.²⁰⁸ (Figures 2.1 and 2.2)

The top of the building’s façade retained its prominent sign, ‘Goch’s Photo Art Studio’, but some time before 1899 this was joined by another sign at a lower level advertising ‘Horace W. Nicholls. High Class Photographer’.²⁰⁹ The business agreement between Goch and Nicholls also included the transfer of Goch’s stock of negatives, including those taken before Nicholls joined the studio.²¹⁰ Some of these negatives were later retouched or copied, replacing the ‘Goch Photo’ credit with ‘Nicholls Photo’.²¹¹ (Figure 2.3)

Nicholls worked primarily as a portrait photographer, taking full-length portraits and head and shoulder vignettes similar to those produced by all studios at the time.²¹² A photograph of the studio’s reception room, taken by Nicholls, shows that it

²⁰⁶ James W. Fish, *Robben Island: An account of the years 1896-1924 regarding the Lepers*, Wynberg: South Africa, 1924, p. 28. Before it became famous as the island prison where Nelson Mandela was held, Robben Island was a leper colony for many years. Goch used his photographic knowledge in his evangelical work, using lantern slides to ‘bring out the Gospel most clearly’.

²⁰⁷ The studio retained its name long after Nicholls had left it. In 1912 it was still being advertised as ‘The Renowned Goch Studio’ – see *The South African Jewish Chronicle*, 30 August, 1912, p. 144.

²⁰⁸ For examples of both designs see <http://home.pacific.net.au/~josken1/kuper.htm> (accessed 13/06/2018).

²⁰⁹ See RPS 2003-5001_0002_27597, taken in 1899, compared with RPS 2003-5001_002_27606, taken in 1897/8.

²¹⁰ Among the photographs registered by Nicholls for copyright under his name in August 1896 were some that must have been taken by James Goch. See, for example, ‘Pritchard Street, Johannesburg in 1889’ – National Archives COPY 1/426/124.

²¹¹ See, for example, RPS Negs Nos. 1457 and 1471, ‘Boer Family Trekking’. Retouching captions was common practice when studios were taken over. In the 1890s, when Barnett Bros bought the negatives taken by H. F. Gros, for example, they ‘went through the images methodically scratching out Gros’s name and replacing it with their own. Carol Hardijzer, *Henri Ferdinand Gros - Pretoria’s first permanently based photographer, 1875 to 1890* – <http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/henri-ferdinand-gros-pretorias-first-permanently-based-photographer-1875-1890> (accessed 15/06/2018).

²¹² For examples of portraits taken at the Goch Studio, see <http://home.pacific.net.au/~josken1/kuper.htm> (accessed 25/06/2018).

resembled a middle-class parlour, with tables and easels displaying samples of Nicholls' work and the walls covered from dado rail to ceiling with prints and paintings, affirming the studio's artistic credentials.²¹³ (Figure 2.4)

Of the several photographic studios in Johannesburg, the Goch Studio enjoyed one of the highest reputations and attracted some of Johannesburg's most eminent citizens as its clients. In May 1898, Abe Bailey, a wealthy neighbour of Nicholls, held a lavish fancy dress ball. The host and guests were photographed in their costumes at the Goch Studio and some of these photographs, almost certainly taken by Nicholls, were reproduced in Britain in *The Sketch* magazine:

Of the host and hostess and a few guests at this brilliant and successful Society function I am enabled to reproduce some interesting photographs. Johannesburg, which is critical of such things, voted the ball one of the best it has yet seen in the way of entertaining, decoration, dress, and general direction. It is said to have cost Mr. and Mrs. Bailey quite £5,000.²¹⁴

With several studios competing for business, Nicholls came up with some novel ideas to raise his profile and attract customers.²¹⁵ In May, 1895, for example, he took a group portrait of the cast of a play entitled *Liberty Hall*, which was being performed at Johannesburg's Standard Theatre. For the one-hundredth performance every member of the audience was given a print as a souvenir.²¹⁶ Later that year, Nicholls displayed in his studio enlarged portraits he had taken of members of the Gaiety Theatre Company:

²¹³ RPS Neg 1492. The prints on the wall reveal Nicholls' Uitlander status and his sense of patriotism. One that can be identified is a print of Lady Butler's painting of a scene during the Crimean War, *The Roll Call*.

²¹⁴ Sir Abraham Bailey (1864-1940) was a South African diamond tycoon, politician, financier and cricketer. *The Sketch*, 18 May, 1898, p. 142. See also, *The Johannesburg Times*, 11 June, 1898. Nicholls may also have been responsible for a photographic album of the guests at a fancy dress party held at the Wanderers Club on 6 April, 1893. In 1965 this was recorded as being in the possession of Dr. Thelma Gutsche. See Bensusan, *Silver Images*, p.42.

²¹⁵ It is unclear whether these ideas originated with Nicholls or whether he was copying ideas he had seen elsewhere. However, it illustrates Nicholls' willingness to embrace business innovations and commercial opportunities – a theme which can be discerned throughout his career.

²¹⁶ *The Critic*, 3 May, 1895.

The photographs, which are chiefly taken in character, represent work which, it is not too much to say, could hardly be surpassed even in London...Mr. Nicholls has turned out work of which he may well be proud, and the photographs are sure to have a large sale, both among *habitués* of the Standard Theatre and others.²¹⁷

Nicholls also advertised special discounts, offering a percentage of his fee to charity:

Those who are contesting in the forthcoming Kindergarten Fancy-Dress competitions should note the offer made by Mr H W Nicholls, the photographer. Where there are ladies, there must necessarily be the photographer, and Mr Nicholls has kindly consented to donate a third of the returns from all sittings to the funds of the charity bazaar.²¹⁸

Nicholls' work was not confined to studio portraiture. The rapidly expanding town, with new buildings springing up, seemingly overnight, was recorded by several local photographers, including Nicholls. The first edition of *The Digger's News and Witwatersrand Advertiser*, the earliest Johannesburg newspaper of which copies have survived, published on 24 February 1887, contains advertisements for three photographers, D. H. Davies, A. Dugmore and W. Plumbe.²¹⁹ All three took topographic views as well as portraits. Dugmore announced that he was busy taking a series of 'Potographic (sic) views' of the town and Plumbe invited readers to visit his studio to see his views of 'Johannesburg as it is and as it was'.²²⁰ David Hynam Davies had just moved to Johannesburg with his brother from Port Elizabeth where he had a studio. Davies, too, soon began to take photographs of the rapidly growing town, registering several of his views in Britain for copyright.²²¹ In 1889, photographs

²¹⁷ *The Star*, Johannesburg, 22 October, 1895.

²¹⁸ *The Standard and Diggers' News*, 13 December, 1898. Nicholls seems to have made something of a speciality of photographing people in fancy dress. In 1898 he photographed a group of Johannesburg women in Japanese costumes who had held a 'Japanese Fancy Fair' in aid of the English church – 'Johannesburgers as Japs', *The Sketch*, 17 August, 1898, p. 145.

²¹⁹ E. B. Nagelgast, 'Johannesburg Newspapers and Periodicals 1887 to 1899, in Anna H. Smith (ed), *Africana Byways*, Johannesburg: A. D. Donker, 1976, p. 90.

²²⁰ Bensusan, *Silver Images*, p.41.

²²¹ See, for example, *Photograph of the market square west, at Johannesburg (sic) waggons & figures in centre & foreground*, National Archives COPY 1/397/457, 11 September 1889. Like Nicholls, the Davies brothers were Uitlanders, having been born in Wales. Their studio was at 61 Pritchard Street, just a couple of doors away

by the Davies Brothers were reproduced in a souvenir booklet written by Charles Cowen, entitled *Johannesburg: The Golden Centre of South Africa*, illustrating the 'extraordinary evolution from the camp of cotton tents of yesterday, into a substantial city of rising noble edifices and institutions today'.²²² Three years later, Davies Bros produced their own souvenir booklet, *Views of Johannesburg Goldfields, Transvaal*, containing nine photographs, including their views of 'Morning Market, Johannesburg', 'Commissioner Street' and 'Stock Exchange Corner'.²²³ These became some of the most frequently photographed locations in Johannesburg, subsequently being photographed by, amongst others, Goch, Duffus Bros, Barnett Bros, Fred Hardie and Charles Wilson. They were also among the locations that Nicholls later photographed.²²⁴

In about 1894, the Goch Studio also produced a souvenir album, *Goch's Views of Johannesburg*, containing twelve photographs mounted on thick card. Locations photographed included, once again, 'Commissioner Street', 'Morning Market' and 'Between the Chains'.²²⁵ (Figure 2.5)

At this time, Nicholls was working at the Goch Studio and some of the photographs in this souvenir album were almost certainly taken by him. Indeed, Nicholls'

from the Goch Studio.

²²² Charles Cowen, *Johannesburg: The Golden Centre of South Africa*, Johannesburg: Publisher not identified, 1889. Another souvenir publication also appeared that year – *South African Gold Fields: Panoramic and other Views of Johannesburg, 1889*, publisher not identified, 1889. The end paper of this booklet is stamped, 'Views from Negatives taken by D. H. Davies, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg'.

²²³ *Views of Johannesburg Goldfields, Transvaal, 1892, Photographed by Davies Bros., Pritchard Street, Johannesburg*. Copy in the personal collection of Brett McDougall, Johannesburg.

²²⁴ For a bibliography of photographically illustrated books published in the Transvaal in the nineteenth century, see Elna Lusya Buys, *Die Drukkers – En Uitgewersbedryf in Transvaal, 1857-1902*, unpublished thesis for a Masters in Librarianship and Information Science, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, 1988 - file:///C:/Users/user/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/TempState/Downloads/PDF%20Document%20(1).pdf (accessed 14/06/2018). For examples of photographs of Johannesburg taken by Nicholls' contemporaries, see Henry Longland, *The Golden Transvaal: An Illustrated Historical, Biographical and Statistical Review*, London: Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Ltd, 1893, Henry Longland, *Pictorial Johannesburg: An Illustrated Historical and Commercial Review*, Johannesburg: Henry Longland, 1894 and Henry Longland, *Progressive Johannesburg: A Retrospective of Eight Years' Progress*, Johannesburg: Henry Longland, 1895. It is revealing to compare the work of photographers who often produced strikingly similar compositions taken from the same viewpoints. See, for example, the photographs of Commissioner Street taken by Davies, Barnett, Hardie and Nicholls.

²²⁵ *Goch's Views of Johannesburg*. Album (225mm by 160mm) in the personal collection of Brett McDougall, Johannesburg. The album is undated but includes a view of the 'New Law Courts' which opened in 1893. The twelve photographs in the album are: Pritchard Street (2); Commissioner Street (2); Rissik Street; Between the Chains, National Bank Corner; New Law Courts; New Hospital; Morning Market; Wemmer Gold Mine, The Wanderers and Johannesburg from Doornfontein.

appointment may have been due in part to his recent experience of taking views of Windsor for his previous employer, George Cartland. In October 1893, Cartland displayed an example of Nicholls' recent work in South Africa, almost certainly taken for this souvenir album, in the window of his Windsor studio:

As an example of what can be done in photography, Mr. Cartland has had on view an enlarged photograph, 48in. by 36in., representing the market in Johannesburg as it appears at six o'clock every morning. It was taken by Mr. H. W. Nicholls, formerly assistant to Mr. Cartland, and now engaged in Johannesburg.²²⁶

After becoming the manager of the Goch studio, Nicholls produced two similar souvenir booklets, both entitled *Johannesburg*.²²⁷ The contents of all three albums are broadly similar – mainly street views, prominent buildings and gold mines, together with a few photographs of 'Boers' and 'kaffirs':²²⁸ (Figure 2.6)

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of the Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, has just published a charming album of views of Johannesburg. These views are admirably produced and give one an excellent idea of the principal features of the town, and the book will form an interesting souvenir. It will no doubt be largely sought after by those who desire to let friends at a distance know what Johannesburg is like. As a rule, street views are taken early in the morning when no one is about, but those under notice represent the town in its normal condition of bustling activity.²²⁹

A close examination of one photograph in this album, *Commissioner Street, Looking East*, reveals Nicholls' grasp of the importance of advertising and his imaginative approach to self-publicity. In the negative of this photograph, there is a building in the

²²⁶ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 14 October, 1893, p. 4.

²²⁷ RPS Collection and personal collection of Brett McDougall, Johannesburg. These publications are not dated but the RPS booklet probably dates from 1895 and the other from 1896.

²²⁸ Originally an Islamic term meaning unbeliever, during the colonial and apartheid periods 'kaffir' was a derogatory term commonly used by white South Africans to refer to any black person. It is now recognised as racist.

²²⁹ Unattributed press cutting in RPS collection.

middle distance, on the southern side of the street, with a large, blank brick wall. In the print which appears in the booklet, this blank wall now bears the inscription 'The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street. Horace W. Nicholls, The Johannesburg Photographer' as if painted in large white letters.²³⁰ (Figures 2.7 and 2.8)

Compared to the well-bound and gilt-titled album produced under Goch's name, Nicholls' souvenir albums are more modest productions, with photogravure images mounted on thin card between simply-printed card covers secured with ribbon. In appearance, these are similar to and were probably modelled on the *Recuerdos de Chile* albums produced by Diaz and Spencer that Nicholls had acquired in Chile

I have no doubt that many Johannesburgers at present in England, will, like myself, receive from South African friends at this season some pictorial memento or other of the scenes left behind in the Southern land. One of the best of these interesting little reminders that I have yet seen is the "Johannesburg Album" issued by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of Goch's studio. All who know the City of Gold, either as it was or is, will be delighted with this charming booklet in its artistic cover of buff and red, and its pretty emerald green bow, whilst those who have never visited South Africa will find this an excellent introduction to its most go-ahead city...The photographic reproductions are excellent; indeed, the most famous London houses would find it difficult to turn out anything at the same price more delicate and accurate than this work of Mr. Nicholls.²³¹

A photograph in one of these *Johannesburg* albums shows a jinricksha, a small two-wheeled cart-like vehicle, carrying two passengers, a young woman and a child, being pulled by a black South African. The child in the jinricksha is Nicholls' son George. This is almost certainly the first instance of Nicholls using members of his family as the subjects for his commercial work – a merging of the public and private,

²³⁰ Another version of this print is reproduced as an illustration in Mrs Lionel Phillip's book, *Some South African Recollections*, published in 1899. Here, the wall bears the inscription 'H. W. Nicholls, The Johannesburg Photographer, P.O. Box 281'. Mrs. Lionel Phillips, *Some South African Recollections*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899, p. 144.

²³¹ Unattributed press cutting in RPS collection.

personal and professional worlds that was later to become a central characteristic of his work. (Figure 2.9). To early twenty-first century eyes, this photograph is a difficult, unsettling image, evidencing, as it does, explicit racial inequality, stereotypes and unequal power dynamics.²³² The rich, privileged, white child is being pulled by the black, clearly very poor, driver. Moreover, this racial inequality is underlined by a sign on the jinricksha which reads 'Europeans Only'. Contemporary (white) viewers, however, would have regarded it merely as a charming pictorial souvenir of an aspect of everyday life in Johannesburg. Nicholls, too, would not have regarded this photograph as being in any way problematic. Nicholls was a patriotic and proud imperialist (who was later to join the Royal Colonial Institute) who embraced the colonial framework in which he lived and worked and his views reflected the commonly held racial attitudes of the era.

Gold mines were Johannesburg's *raison d'être*. As well as photographing the town's main landmarks, Nicholls visited several mines around Johannesburg, taking a series of photographs that he registered for copyright in 1896.²³³ In 1897 a formal arrangement was agreed whereby Nicholls became the preferred photographer for Johannesburg's 'mines and mechanical installations':

The attention of directors and managers of mines is drawn to the fact that an arrangement has been concluded with Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of the Goch Studio who will photograph mines and mechanical installations...Arrangements will always be made as early as possible for the photographer to visit the mine at a time convenient to the manager, in order that the manager may select the point from which the photograph is to be taken.²³⁴

It is significant that it was the mine manager, and not the photographer, who chose the viewpoint. Since 'mines and mechanical installations', rather than miners, were

²³² For a recent postcolonial perspective on photography, race and representation, see Mark Sealy, *Decolonising the Camera: Photography in Racial Time*, Chadwell Heath: Lawrence Wishart, 2019.

²³³ National Archives COPY 1/426/102 to 1/426/104 and 1/426/139. *Goch's Views of Johannesburg* includes a photograph of the Wemmer Gold Mine which may also have been taken by Nicholls.

²³⁴ *The South African Mining Journal*, Johannesburg, 1897. Undated press cutting in RPS collection.

the primary subject, most of Nicholls' resulting photographs are almost totally devoid of human presence.²³⁵

In stark contrast to the lack of human presence, a series of graphic photographs taken around this time, showing black diamond miners undergoing humiliating full body searches, have been attributed to Nicholls. In *The Golden Summer*, Buckland writes:

The most disturbing and unbearably haunting pictures Nicholls took during his long career are a series of seven exposures of a naked black miner being searched for diamonds at the Kimberley mines... The miner going through the ordeal could have been a puppet on a string – except for the power with which he connected with Nicholls each time he turned towards him. The man in front of Nicholls' camera was stripped naked, his self-respect usurped but no one could steal the look in his eyes that Nicholls dignified for ever.²³⁶

These photographs, often referred to but until recently not reproduced, due to their graphic nature, have been cited as evidence of Nicholls' 'sympathy for the plight of black workers'.²³⁷ There is no record, however, of Nicholls ever visiting the diamond mines at Kimberley, which were over 300 miles from Johannesburg. Close examination reveals that these negatives, now in the Royal Photographic Society Collection, have not been taken 'from life' but are in fact copies of photographs contained in an album. The original photographs are not by Nicholls but by another contemporary photographer working in South Africa, Robert Harris, about whom,

²³⁵ For examples, see Nicholls' photographs of the Witwatersrand Gold Mine reproduced in Louis Creswicke (ed), *South Africa and the Transvaal War, Volume VIII, South Africa and its Future*, Manchester: Kenneth MacLennan, 1902, pp. 100, 104 and 105 (RPS 2003-5001_0002_27354 - 27356). Barnett took similar photographs of goldmines – see, for examples, *The Sketch*, 10 November, 1897, p. 131.

²³⁶ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 116. The first mention of these negatives is in Cecil Beaton and Gail Buckland, *The Magic Image: The Genius of Photography*, London: Pavilion, 1989, p. 126: 'When he was in South Africa he took photographs of black diamond-miners stripped naked and subjected to humiliating searches for loot'. There are, in fact, eight negatives – RPS 1458 to RPS 1466.

²³⁷ Rob Powell, 'Levels of Truth: The Life and Work of Horace Nicholls', *The British Journal of Photography*, 26 June, 1981, p. 643. For a study of the working conditions endured by black mineworkers, see V. L. Allen, *The History of Black Mineworkers in South Africa. Volume I, The Techniques of Resistance 1871-1948*, Keighley: The Moor Press, 1992.

little is known.²³⁸ It is not known why Nicholls copied these disturbing photographs and retained the negatives, storing them alongside his own work.²³⁹

The Goch studio produced studio portraits of black South Africans for commercial sale. These were almost certainly taken in 1889, before Nicholls worked at the studio. One of these, captioned 'Zulu Girl', is a classic example of the 'colonial gaze' and the 'other', combining ethnographic, touristic and voyeuristic motives..²⁴⁰ Later, however, Nicholls did take a few photographs of black South Africans at a kraal – a visual trope within colonial culture for representing black South Africans.²⁴¹ These photographs all seem to have been taken on the same day, possibly during a visit arranged by a local clergyman.²⁴² Buckland writes of these photographs:

Faces fill the frame, sometimes smiling but more often quiet and composed. Nicholls took the pictures close up, at eye level, and the predominant feeling, whether consciously or unconsciously reached, was that of equality. In a society where the word was not even used, the pictures invoking this possibility seem terse and uncompromising, [They] show strong, dignified people grounded in their own culture and not yet dislocated or violated. The pictures describe individuals, not types.²⁴³

Buckland's suggestion is that Nicholls' motive for taking these photographs transcended the purely commercial. The evidence, however, suggests otherwise. The 'individuals' in Nicholls' photographs are not named by him but are given generic

²³⁸ I drew this fact to the attention of art historian Marcia Pointon who has undertaken extensive research on the history of diamond mining in South Africa. For a detailed discussion of these photographs and their re-attribution, see Marcia Pointon, 'De Beers's Diamond Mine in the 1880s: Robert Harris and the Kimberley Searching System', *History of Photography*, Volume 42, Number 1, February 2018, pp. 4-24.

²³⁹ Nicholls also retouched the negatives to obliterate the numbers with which the photographs were annotated.

²⁴⁰ This is numbered 'Goch No. 37' - RPS 2003-5001_0002_27488. A view of Goch's studio in Pritchard Street, taken in 1889 is numbered 'Goch Photo No. 42', which implies that this portrait was taken at around the same time.

²⁴¹ A kraal is a traditional African village of huts, typically enclosed by a fence. Nicholls was contributing to a growing market for this kind of imagery.

²⁴² See RPS 2003-5001_0002_27494 – 'A Kaffir Village'. In the centre of the frame a white clergyman wearing a pith helmet stands slightly away from a group that have been posed for Nicholls' camera. Several people in this group can be identified in the individual portraits taken later that day.

²⁴³ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 116.

captions such as 'A Young Warrior', 'Kaffir Girl', 'Kaffir Family in front of Kraal' and 'Kaffirs at Dinner'.²⁴⁴ The 'Kaffir Girl' was photographed by Nicholls several times in different poses – in an 'ethnographic' pose, surrounded by cooking pots and balancing a basket on her head, looking directly at the camera, smiling broadly, and, finally, adopting an incongruous 'glamour' pose with her hands clasped behind her head.²⁴⁵ (Figure 2.10)

Even when Nicholls would certainly have known the name of his sitter, he chose instead to give his portrait sitters generic titles. His portrait of one of his own domestic servants, for example, is captioned 'South African Kitchen Boy' and entitled 'Saka Bona, Baas'.²⁴⁶

Nicholls' portraits of native South Africans functioned primarily as representations of racial 'types'. This is how they were sold initially and how they were subsequently used for many years.²⁴⁷ In 1906, *The Daily Mirror* reproduced a tightly-cropped version of Nicholls' portrait of a 'Young Warrior' in a pictorial feature about growing civil unrest in South Africa. Here, the young warrior is transformed by the caption into the 'Type of the natives whose restlessness is a standing menace to Natal.'²⁴⁸ Sixteen years later, by which time the young warrior would have been middle-aged, he regained his warrior status once more, when he appeared in the part-work magazine, *Peoples of All Nations*, as a fine example of South African manhood:

Proud and haughty, as becomes the descendants of a race of warriors whose military genius secured the ascendancy in South Africa until its conquest by white civilization, the Zulus are a people from whom Europeans might learn a good deal. Physically the men

²⁴⁴ RPS 2003-5001_0002_27484, Mallinson Folio 72 and Mallinson Folio 76.

²⁴⁵ Mallinson Folio Nos. 70, 72 and 327. This glamour pose is probably the one referred to by Buckland as a 'cheesecake anomaly' (*The Golden Summer*, p. 116). This pose, similar to that sometimes adopted by Charles Dana's contemporary 'Gibson Girl' (see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gibson_girl_beach.jpg – accessed 22/06/2018) was often used by Nicholls for his female portraits. See, for example, Mallinson Folio 365.

²⁴⁶ Mallinson Folio 326. 'Saka Bona Baas' translates roughly as 'Good morning Boss'.

²⁴⁷ For a discussion of images of Black Africans in colonial Africa, see the introduction to Paul Landau and Deborah Kaspin (Eds), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2002.

²⁴⁸ 'The Crisis in South Africa', *The Daily Mirror*, 31 March, 1906, p. 9.

are superb, with intelligent faces and a native dignity that marks them as true aristocrats in their proper state and own environment.²⁴⁹

In the same publication, another of Nicholls' photographs is reproduced. Here, by judicious tight cropping, Nicholls' full-length photograph of a woman carrying a baby on her back, 'Kaffir Method of Carrying Children', becomes a head and shoulders portrait illustrating the 'Snake-Like Coiffure of a Zulu Belle. Commercial images of seductive 'Zulu Belles' were produced in large numbers at the beginning of the twentieth century and have been studied by Gilles Teulié who has undertaken extensive research into racial representations in South Africa..²⁵⁰ (Figures 2.11 and 2.12)

Nicholls' practice of often tightly-cropping his full-length photographs to create head and shoulder portraits that fill the frame has led to the mistaken assumption that he 'took the pictures close up, at eye level', thereby implying a greater degree of personal interaction with his subjects than was probably the case.²⁵¹

Nicholls' time in South Africa coincided with a period of growing political unrest in the Transvaal stemming from tensions between Uitlanders and the Transvaal government. This culminated in the Jameson raid in December 1895, intended to spark an Uitlander uprising in Johannesburg, which placed the city in the world's spotlight.²⁵² Newspapers and magazines despatched their reporters and special artists to South Africa to cover the situation. In January 1896, Melton Prior, the celebrated Special Artist for *The Illustrated London News* arrived in Johannesburg. Nicholls had probably already met Prior when Prior visited Chile in 1889. The two

²⁴⁹ Hamilton Fyfe, 'South Africa: A New Nation in the Making', in J. A. Hammerton (ed), *Peoples of All Nations, Vol. VII, South Africa to Wales*, London: The Amalgamated Press, 1922, p. 4690.

²⁵⁰ 'Zulu women are magnificent creatures physically, muscularly strong, erect in carriage, graceful in movement, and statuesque in pose'. Ibid p. 4691. See also, Mallinson Folio 79. For a discussion of the concept of the 'Zulu Belle' and the representation of Zulu women in the late C19th and early C20th, see Gilles Teulié, 'Southern (African) Belles & the Aesthetic Forms of Seduction: Portraying Zulu Women in Early Twentieth Century Postcards', *L'Atelier*, Vol.9, No 2, 2017, pp. 62-90.

²⁵¹ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 116. A good example of this is the portrait on the following page, captioned 'African, c. 1899', which Buckland uses to evidence this statement. This striking and powerful portrait was not, however, taken 'close up'. It is a tightly-cropped and enlarged image taken from a negative showing two of Nicholls' house servants. The other servant in the photograph appears in another cropped image captioned 'South African Kitchen Boy', Mallinson Folio 326, see footnote 56.

²⁵² For a concise study of the background to the Jameson Raid, see Frank Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, London: HarperCollins, 2000, pp 300-321.

men certainly met on this occasion since Prior visited the Goch Studio to have his portrait taken.²⁵³ Prior remained in Johannesburg for several weeks, during which time he sketched several events which were also photographed by Nicholls.²⁵⁴

In February 1896, Nicholls wrote a letter to the editor of *The Windsor and Eton Express*, giving an eye witness account of recent events in Johannesburg by 'one who has gone through the recent crisis'.²⁵⁵ Nicholls describes several episodes that he had recently photographed, including waiting for Jameson's triumphant entry into Johannesburg - 'I stood myself seven hours in one spot hoping to transfer his triumphant entry on to a sensitive plate' - and women and children fleeing the town:

The scenes at the railway stations were horrible; women who had had first-class fares paid for them had to put up with third-class accommodation, and those who had tickets for a cheaper class... had to put up with cattle-truck accommodation...the agony of these poor creatures is better imagined than described. Those of us who had got our women-folk off at the first intimation of trouble sighed a sigh of relief.²⁵⁶

The passive reaction of Uitlanders to the news that Jameson had been defeated and taken prisoner caused Nicholls to reflect on his time in South America:

The thought at that time occurred to me, what a Chilian or Peruvian mob would have done in a similar situation. Why, pistols and knives would have been almost immediately in evidence and bloodshed would have been the order of the hour; but instead, as it has

²⁵³In July 1900, *The Sketch* published a portrait of Prior, 'recently taken by Nicholls, Johannesburg'. Prior had arrived in Cape Town on 10 October the previous year. By this time Nicholls had already left Johannesburg and was in Pietermaritzburg so the portrait must have been taken during Prior's previous visit to South Africa in 1896. *The Sketch*, 25 July, 1900, p. 8.

²⁵⁴ As well as incidents relating to the Jameson Raid, Prior sketched the aftermath of the dynamite explosion on 19 February and the locust infestation in March, photographs of both of which were included in Nicholls' *Stirring Events in Johannesburg*. While he was in Johannesburg, Prior stayed at Heath's Hotel in Pritchard Street, across the road from Goch's Studio. Prior's sketch of Pritchard Street which appeared in *The Illustrated London News* (16 May, 1896, p. 633) was based on a photograph by Barnett Bros (Wellcome Library No. 536650i). In his sketch, Prior has drawn a sign for 'Goch Photos' on the wall of the studio. However, this sign does not appear in the Barnett photograph.

²⁵⁵ 'A Letter from Johannesburg', *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 14 March, 1896, p. 6.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Nicholls had already sent Florence and George off to safety in Cape Town.

happened many times, the Englishman's level-headedness asserted itself...²⁵⁷

Nicholls sent a selection of his photographs of to his father on the Isle of Wight:

The recent Transvaal crisis having brought Johannesburg (sic) into world-wide prominence, anything connected with recent events enacted there cannot fail to be extremely interesting. Mr Nicholls having received from his son several well-executed photos representing scenes in Johannesburg at the time of the South African crisis and other photos in connection therewith, has placed them on view in the window of his shop in the High Street, where they may now be seen...In addition to the realistic character of the photos, the interest attached to the scenes and characters they represent will well repay a visit to Mr. Nicholls' establishment.²⁵⁸

Political unrest may have provided good subjects to photograph but it was very bad for Nicholls' day-to-day business of portrait photography: 'Well things are now beginning to resume their normal appearance, though business has naturally received a nasty shock from which it will take some time to recover'.²⁵⁹

Johannesburg did not, however, return quickly to normality. Just two days after Nicholls had penned his letter, the town suffered a major catastrophe. On the afternoon of 19 February, 1896, a train loaded with over 50 tons of dynamite that had been standing for days in intense heat on a railway siding in the Johannesburg suburb of Braamfontein, exploded. The explosion, which killed about 70 people and injured many more, could be heard at Klerksdorp, 150 miles away.²⁶⁰ Nicholls was at the scene soon afterwards, photographing the huge crater caused by the explosion

²⁵⁷ Ibid. Not knowing that Nicholls had previously lived in Chile, readers of *The Windsor and Eton Express* may have been slightly puzzled by this comparison.

²⁵⁸ *The Isle of Wight Chronicle*, 13 February, 1896. The photographs exhibited in Arthur Nicholls' shop window included several that were later registered for copyright by Horace Nicholls and reproduced in *Stirring Events in Johannesburg, 1896*.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ For a vivid account of the explosion and its aftermath, see Robert Crisp, *The Outlanders: The Men who Made Johannesburg*, St Albans: Mayflower Books, 1974, pp. 339-344.

and the widespread surrounding devastation.²⁶¹ He returned a couple of days later to photograph a column of gravediggers and the mass funeral for the victims.²⁶²

Nicholls once again sent a set of these recent photographs to his father:

Mr. Arthur Nicholls, photographer, has on display at his establishment, in the High-street, a series of excellently executed photographs...in connection with the recent awful dynamite catastrophe at Johannesburg. The photographs are by Mr. Nicholls' son, Horace W. Nicholls...who was a spectator of the terrible results of the accident immediately after its occurrence.²⁶³

The dynamite explosion was reported widely in the British press and Nicholls' photographs were reproduced in at least two illustrated magazines, *The Graphic* and *The Sketch*.²⁶⁴

Then, just five days after the explosion, Johannesburg experienced another catastrophic event. A large drapery store caught fire in the early hours of the morning and was totally destroyed. On this occasion, Nicholls did not even have to leave his studio to photograph the scene since the fire occurred on Pritchard Street, just across the road.²⁶⁵ Once again, Nicholls was quick to spot a commercial opportunity:

²⁶¹ Nicholls took at least two photographs of the huge crater. The Zuid-Afrika Haus archive in Amsterdam has a variant of the version which Nicholls later chose to use in *Stirring Events*.

²⁶² See National Archives COPY 1/426/100 and COPY 1/426/105-109

²⁶³ *The Isle of Wight Chronicle*, undated and unpaginated newspaper cutting in Nicholls' scrapbook. Nicholls was not as quick off the mark as another Johannesburg photographer, J. R. Gannon. Gannon, who ran the Sunbeam Studio in Pritchard Street, managed to capture a photograph of the huge mushroom cloud caused by the explosion. See *The Strand Magazine*, May 1897, p. 505.

²⁶⁴ *The Graphic*, 21 March, 1896, p.350. *The Sketch*, 25 March, 1896, p.369. This clarifies Rob Powell's statement that Nicholls 'is also known to have photographed the aftermath of a mine explosion, although it is difficult to say whether these were intended for use by a periodical'. – Rob Powell, 'Levels of Truth: The Life and Work of Horace Nicholls', *The British Journal of Photography*, 26 June, 1981, p. 643. Nicholls was not the only Johannesburg photographer to record the aftermath of the disaster. His photographs in *The Sketch* were shown alongside a photograph captioned 'Searching for bodies', taken by Duffus Brothers. On the same day that Nicholls' photograph of the crater caused by the explosion was reproduced in *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated London News* contained an engraving from a very similar photograph taken by Barnett – *The Illustrated London News*, 21 March, 1896, p. 369.

²⁶⁵ Nicholls photographed the small crowd that had gathered across the street to look at the building's charred and still smoking remains from a first-floor window of his studio. The circumstances surrounding the fire seem slightly suspicious. It broke out in the early hours of the morning when no one was inside; The premises had recently been sold and it was fully covered by insurance. See *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 February, 1896, p. 7.

The truth-telling camera has been very much in evidence during the past two months and has depicted most varied scenes on the Rand, many of which will become historical...Foremost among these are the views taken by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of Goch's Art Studio whose productions have been greatly admired and whose views of the scene of the recent explosion have earned his praise as well as the more substantial benefit of ready sales. As an instance of smart work, it may be mentioned that after the last great fire in Pritchard Street, Mr. Nicholls took excellent views of the smouldering remains of the conflagration at 10 a.m. and which went on sale at 1 p.m.²⁶⁶

During the following weeks Johannesburg also experienced two natural calamities – a severe drought and a plague of locusts. These, Nicholls again recorded with his camera.²⁶⁷ Once again, he did not have to venture very far to take his photographs. Pritchard Street swarmed with locusts which settled on the roof of his studio in their thousands.²⁶⁸

For Buckland, this fortuitous combination of 'being in the right place at the right time' meant that Nicholls 'became a photojournalist almost without choice'.²⁶⁹ Nicholls would not have recognised the term 'photojournalist' since it only came into popular usage in the 1930s but he did, of course, have a choice. He chose, if the opportunity arose, to sell his photographs to the illustrated press whilst, at the same time, continuing to explore other commercial outlets for his work. Every photographer in Johannesburg had the same opportunity; many made the same choice. On the pages of the same magazines (and, occasionally, even on the same pages) on

²⁶⁶ *The Johannesburg Times*, 27 February, 1896.

²⁶⁷ Johannesburg was no stranger to either of these events – water shortages and infestations of locusts were regular occurrences.

²⁶⁸ As well as his better-known photograph of locusts on the telegraph wires, Nicholls also photographed them on the roof of his studio, with the 'Goch' sign visible in the background – RPS 2003-5001_0002_27365. Melton Prior made a sketch of pedestrians in Pritchard Street surrounded by a swarm of locusts on 26 March which was later reproduced in *The Illustrated London News – ILN* 16 May, 1896, p. 633.

²⁶⁹ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 117. Nicholls would not have recognised the term 'photojournalist' since it only came into popular usage in the 1930s.

which Nicholls' photographs appear, there are also photographs taken by several other Johannesburg photographers.²⁷⁰

Nicholls had already had some of his photographs reproduced in British magazines. Some of his Chilean photographs had been reproduced in *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* in 1891.²⁷¹ More recently, in 1895, he had once again contributed photographs to *The Illustrated London News*.²⁷² The dramatic events surrounding the Jameson Raid were reported widely in Britain. Nicholls took his 'truth-telling camera' out onto the streets to capture scenes in Johannesburg during the political crisis. However, the only photograph by Nicholls relating to the crisis to appear in the press was a studio group portrait of Colonel Bettington and the officers of Bettington's Horse, posed incongruously, and rather uncomfortably, on rustic furniture in front of a sylvan painted backdrop.²⁷³ A few weeks later, however, some of Nicholls' photographs showing the aftermath of the dynamite explosion at

²⁷⁰ See, for example, photographs of Johannesburg by the Davies Brothers in *The Sketch*, 2 October, 1895, pp. 515-516 and a portrait of Major Ricarde-Seaver by Duffus Brothers in *The Sketch*, 25 October, 1893, p. 680.

²⁷¹ See Chapter One.

²⁷² In August 1895, the *ILN* reproduced three of Nicholls' photographs of Johannesburg to accompany an article about the opening of the Delagoa Bay Railway. These were 'The Morning Market', 'Johannesburg in 1889' and 'Johannesburg in 1895'. The photographs are not credited but also appear in Nicholls' souvenir publication *Johannesburg*, from which they may have been copied. See, *The Illustrated London News*, 24 August, 1895, pp. 227-228. The opening of the Delagoa Bay Railway was significant since it meant that the land-locked Transvaal Republic now had access to the sea without being dependent on the ports in the British Colonies of Natal and the Cape. See, *Johannesburg*, Plate No.7, 'Morning Market'. See RPS 2003-5001_002_27371. This print is captioned 'Goch Photo No. 210'. A 48in. by 36in. enlargement was exhibited at Cartland's Studio in Windsor in 1893. *Johannesburg*, Plate No. 12, 'Johannesburg in 1889'. See RPS 2003-5001_0002_27328. This print is captioned 'Goch Photo No. 43'. Horace wasn't the only member of the Nicholls family to be credited in the press that year. His father, Arthur, also had a photograph reproduced in a magazine. This was a studio portrait of the composer and conductor Ernest Ford, which appeared in *The Sketch*, 15 May, 1895, p. 123.

²⁷³ Reproduced in *Black and White*, 22 February, 1896, p.233. Colonel Rowland Albemarle Arthur Bettington organised and commanded a formation of irregular mounted infantry in Johannesburg that attempted to bring help to Jameson. Bettington was also photographed individually by Nicholls and his portrait appears in Nicholls' collage depicting the members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee. Photographs of the crisis taken by another Johannesburg photographer, Barnett, were, however, reproduced in *The Sketch*- 'The Crisis in Johannesburg', *The Sketch*, 29 January, 1896, p. 4. In both subject matter and composition several of these photographs are very similar to those by Nicholls, 'Commissioner Street' and 'The Crowd in Simmonds Street'. In January 1896, a line engraving from a portrait photograph of Lionel Phillips, the leader of the Johannesburg Reform Committee was printed in *The Illustrated London News*. This is credited to 'Goch, Johannesburg' and was probably taken by Nicholls. *The Illustrated London News*, 18 January, 1896, p. 71. The same portrait was printed in *The Graphic*, on the same day and again in May. *The Graphic*, 18 January, 1896, p. 71 and 2 May, 1896, p. 522. Similarly, a portrait of Adolf Goerz, also credited to 'Goch, Johannesburg' was published in *The Sketch* a few months later. *The Sketch*, 26 August, 1896, p. 219.

Braamfontein did appear in the British press when they were published in both *The Graphic* and *The Sketch*.²⁷⁴ (Figure 2.13)

Nicholls did not intend to remain in South Africa permanently and maintained his links with Britain. In May 1896, Nicholls travelled to Britain with Florence and their son, George. The voyage presented Nicholls with another photographic opportunity; he took a series of photographs of his fellow passengers taking part in light-hearted deck sports. A few weeks later, a selection of these was published in *The Sketch* magazine, entitled *Life on Board a South African Liner*.²⁷⁵ These photographs exhibit a degree of freedom which is not previously evident in Nicholls' work. Instead of being carefully composed, they are taken spontaneously, with eccentric framing and without the knowledge of the sitters, who do not return the photographer's gaze. Clearly taken with a hand camera, they are examples of what we would now describe as 'candid' photography. Nicholls was enjoying the freedom of dispensing with a tripod, experimenting with unusual camera angles and fast shutter speeds to capture movement.²⁷⁶ (Figure 2.14)

During the 1890s, hand cameras were still a relative novelty. However, they were becoming increasingly common – even in South Africa:

The irrepressible amateur has also been conspicuous...until the camera, whether on a tripod or disguised in a leather case, has become an eyesore to the public.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴*The Graphic*, 21 March, 1896, p. 350. *The Sketch*, 25 March, 1896, p. 369. *The Sketch* published three photographs by Nicholls – 'Grave-Diggers', 'The Dutch Church' and 'A Pit Caused by the Explosion' – alongside one photograph by Duffus Brothers – 'Searching for Bodies'. *The Graphic* also published an illustration of 'The Pit Caused by the Explosion'. This engraving, made 'from a photograph', has been 'improved' to remove the eccentrically cropped figures that appear in the foreground of Nicholls' photograph.

²⁷⁵*The Sketch*, 1 July, 1896, p.401.

²⁷⁶As well as greater convenience, gelatine 'dry' plates, which superseded collodion 'wet' plates in the 1880s, had the added advantage of increased sensitivity. Exposures were reduced to a fraction of a second, making the 'instantaneous' photography of movement possible and extending greatly the range of subjects available to the photographer. The introduction of dry plates also had a radical effect on camera design. For the first time, exposures were now brief enough to allow cameras to be held in the hand when taking a photograph. Freed from the need for tripods, a new generation of box-form, hand-held cameras appeared.

²⁷⁷*Johannesburg Times*, 27 February, 1896.

One of the most sophisticated hand cameras of the time was designed by Arthur S. Newman, who had gone into business with Julio Guardia in 1892 to form Newman & Guardia Ltd.²⁷⁸ 'N & G' cameras were recognised for their high quality and were very popular. Their hand camera, introduced in 1894, was made in a range of sizes. Nicholls bought a half-plate model, probably during his visit to Britain in the winter of 1895.²⁷⁹ Nicholls went on to build a close relationship with Newman & Guardia, using their cameras for many years.

During the 1890s, stereoscopic photography, first popularised in the 1850s, enjoyed a revival of popularity. Nicholls dabbled with stereoscopy around 1897-8, taking stereoscopic pairs of negatives that he printed or made into transparencies.²⁸⁰ Each of the quarter-plate negatives in a stereo pair could also, of course, be printed as a single, monocular image, which, on occasion, Nicholls did.²⁸¹

Nicholls took stereoscopic photographs of a range of subjects, but the location to which he returned most often was the racecourse. Horse racing attracted huge crowds, including some of Johannesburg's richest and most influential inhabitants. Nicholls captured the horses and their owners, the punters and the jockeys, the

²⁷⁸ For a history of the firm and its products, see Martin Russell, *Newman & Guardia, Ltd*, Chester-Le-Street: Emanem Books, 1988.

²⁷⁹ It is unlikely that he would have been able to buy one in South Africa and he was using it during his voyage to Britain in May 1896. Nicholls' catalogue of his photographs of the South African War, printed in 1900, carries an advertisement for Newman & Guardia Ltd, stating that Nicholls' N & G camera had been in constant use in South Africa 'for nearly five years'. Their half-plate camera cost £27 5s – a considerable amount at the time. This was not a cheap 'snapshot' camera but a sophisticated instrument designed taking the relatively large (6 ½" by 4 ¼") negatives required by 'journalists, artists, and others'. The camera was made from mahogany, covered with black Moroccan leather, and fitted with a Zeiss f 6.3 lens, a 1/100th to ½ second shutter. It also had a double-extension, vertical and horizontal rising front and an integral changing box for plates. For an advertisement, see *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, London: Henry Greenwood & Co, 1897, p. 119.

²⁸⁰ These pairs of negatives were taken simultaneously, rather than sequentially. Nicholls may have used a dedicated camera for his stereoscopic photography but it is more likely that he adapted his half-plate camera to take stereo pairs by fitting it with a binocular lens panel. Some of these stereoscopic photographs can be accurately dated. For example, RPS Negative 1474, 'The Pioneer Motor Car' was taken on 13 January, 1897 when the first car to be seen in Johannesburg - a 1 ½ h.p. Benz - was driven at the Wanderers Track. The Bensusan Museum in Johannesburg has a collection of stereoscopic transparencies by Nicholls. For examples, see N. Cowan, 'Horace W. Nicholls (1867-1941): A Photographer in Johannesburg 1892-c.1900', *Africana Notes and News*, 24, 1980, p.285 and Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 118. Newman and Guardia made their half-plate cameras in two slightly different plate formats – half-plate (6 ½" by 4 ¼") and double-quarter (6 ½" by 4 ¼"). The double-quarter plate version could also be easily converted for stereoscopic work by fitting an alternative lens panel which N & G also supplied.

²⁸¹ See, for example, RPS Neg 1479 and Mallinson Folio 324.

ladies and their daughters and the cream of Johannesburg society at leisure, photographing them unawares in a series of informal, candid images. In these casual, even playful, photographs some of the nascent themes that Nicholls was to develop and broaden in his later career can be clearly seen.²⁸²

Nicholls' trip to Britain in 1896 was a welcome chance to see family and friends. Nicholls, however, also had some important business matters to attend to. He wanted to make sure that his recent work was registered for copyright and that his photographs realised their full commercial potential while events in South Africa were still in the public eye. In London, Nicholls visited the offices of York & Son, lantern slide manufacturers and suppliers, in Notting Hill.²⁸³ Travel subjects were one of their specialities and they agreed to purchase the reproduction rights to 60 of Nicholls' photographs. These were subsequently published as a slide set entitled *Johannesburg, Transvaal*, which was advertised for sale from September 1896.²⁸⁴

Just before he returned to South Africa, Nicholls paid a visit to Stationers' Hall near St Paul's Cathedral where he registered 49 of his recent photographs, including views of Johannesburg, the political crisis and the dynamite explosion, for copyright.²⁸⁵ Although he would have known about the procedure from the example set by his father and by also by his former employer, George Cartland, this was the first time that Nicholls had registered any of his own photographs.²⁸⁶ Registration did

²⁸²Some of Nicholls' titles hint at his future work. For example, 'Lunch at the Races' – RPS 2003-5001_0002_27533.

²⁸³Founded by Frederick York in 1863, York & Son were one of the leading retailers of optical lantern slides. By the 1890s they were producing over 100,000 slides each year 'embracing every branch of science as well as interesting and moral tales'. See David Robinson, Stephen Herbert, Richard Crangle (eds) *Encyclopaedia of the Magic Lantern*, London: Magic Lantern Society, 2001, p. 330. Nicholls may have been influenced in his choice of York & Son as potential publishers of his work by the fact that Frederick York had lived in Cape Town for several years as a young man.

²⁸⁴ See *The Optical Magical Lantern Journal*, September, 1896, p. xi. Also, *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, London: Henry Greenwood & Co, 1897, p. 26. For a complete list of the slides contained in this set see *Lucerna – The Magic Lantern Web Resource* - <https://www.slides.uni-trier.de/set/index-slide.php?id=3001167&language=EN> (accessed 06/06/2018). It is not known how much Nicholls was paid or how many slide sets were sold. The set was still being advertised in Holland 17 years later – *Lijst van lantaamploaatjes*, Amsterdam: Ivens & Co., 1913, p. 197.

²⁸⁵ National Archives, COPY 1/426/94 to COPY 1/426/142. For a complete list, see http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r/4?q=goch%20studio%20august%201896&_srt=1 (accessed 06/06/2018).

²⁸⁶ Nicholls seems to have been uncertain at first as to how to complete the registration forms, neglecting to start his descriptions with the obligatory phrase 'Photograph of'. In the earliest forms this phrase has been added in different handwriting. See, for example, National Archives COPY 1/426/94. Nicholls concluded his

not, of course, guarantee an appropriate credit and payment. In January 1897, *The Strand Magazine* reproduced Nicholls' photograph of a swarm of locusts on telegraph wires in Johannesburg without giving him an acknowledgement.²⁸⁷ If Nicholls was aware of this infringement of his copyright there is no evidence that he took any action against the magazine's publisher, George Newnes Ltd.

On 15 August 1896, Nicholls, Florence and George, set sail from Southampton on their return voyage to Cape Town on board the SS Norman. Prominent among their fellow passengers was Lord Rosmead (Sir Hercules Robinson), High Commissioner for Southern Africa and Governor of Cape Colony. Nicholls once again made profitable use of the voyage, taking another series of shipboard photographs that he subsequently also registered for copyright.²⁸⁸ He used the ship's stop-off at Madeira as an opportunity to try some 'instantaneous' photography, attempting to take shots of local divers as they leapt from the side of the ship to entertain the passengers. Setting his camera shutter at its fastest speed of 1/100th sec, he was only partially successful, capturing the splash as a diver entered the water but failing to 'freeze' the diver in mid-air who appears blurred.²⁸⁹

In the autumn of 1896, Nicholls published a selection of 18 of his photographs taken earlier that year in a booklet entitled *Stirring Events in Johannesburg, 1896*.²⁹⁰

personal details with the phrase 'A British Subject'. This was not an overt expression of patriotism but a convention adopted at the time by those living overseas. See, for example, Eadweard Muybridge's chronophotographs registered in 1893 - COPY 1/412/167. Registration would have cost Nicholls £2 9s – 1s for each photograph.

²⁸⁷ *The Strand Magazine*, January, 1897, p. 118. National Archives COPY 1/426/111. This image was probably copied from slide No 27 in the set published by York & Son. Later that year the magazine published Nicholls' photograph of the huge pit caused by the dynamite explosion in Johannesburg (National Archives COPY 1/426/100) with an acknowledgement. *The Strand Magazine*, May 1897, p. 505.

²⁸⁸ National Archives COPY 1/427/161 – COPY 1/427/178. Subjects photographed include Lord Rosmead and his entourage, incidents during the voyage, stop-off at Madeira and ceremonial arrival in Cape Town. Nicholls must have taken a supply of blank registration forms with him which he posted to Stationers' Hall after completion. The forms were completed on 19 September but not registered until 15 October.

²⁸⁹ RPS 2003-5001_0002_27346 and RPS 2003-5001_0002_27368. 'Instantaneous' was a general term used at the time to describe an exposure of less than one second.

²⁹⁰ *Stirring Events in Johannesburg, 1896: A Collection of Eighteen Photographs by Horace W. Nicholls, The "Goch" Photo Art Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg*. This booklet was in a slightly larger format than his earlier publication, *Johannesburg*, (200mm by 250mm, compared to 150mm by 200mm) but of very similar design, with buff coloured card covers with red lettering secured with ribbon. The typography of the title 'Johannesburg' on the cover of both publications is identical. Nicholls must have produced more than one version of this booklet. The copy held in the Royal Photographic Society Collection does not contain advertisements whereas the copy in the Harold Strange Library of African Studies in Johannesburg is described as containing 'delightful advertisements', E. B. Hughes, 'Collecting Johannesburgiana', in Anna H. Smith (ed),

Nicholls' sonorous choice of title reflected the language often used by contemporary commentators.²⁹¹ The phrase was also used in advertisements for Nicholls' set of lantern slides, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*, which first went on sale at around the same time:

An entirely New Series, including the late stirring events and Gold Mining Industry, from Mr Horace Nicholls' Splendid copyright negatives, the sole right of which we have purchased for the making of Lantern Slides.²⁹²

Nicholls described his selection of photographs as forming:

..as complete a panorama as possible of the rapid succession of serious events which marked the opening of the year 1896, in Johannesburg, events which will, doubtless, long live in the memories, and be of historical interest to all who reside, and have friends, on the Rand.²⁹³

It is interesting that while the events he had photographed were still comparatively recent, Nicholls' was already stressing the mnemonic and documentary qualities of his photographs rather than their topicality.

Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee presented Johannesburg's British Uitlanders with an opportunity to celebrate and express their patriotism. Following the debacle of the Jameson Raid in 1895, the Jubilee celebrations were a chance to restore British pride. A lavish procession was organised under the slogan 'Britons, hold up your heads'. The streets of Johannesburg were decorated with flowers, bunting and, in a direct challenge to the Transvaal government, Union Jack flags. According to one historian of the city, 'The decoration and the size of the assembly were so striking

Africana Curiosities, Johannesburg: A D Donker, 1973, p. 131.

²⁹¹Accounts in newspapers and magazines often referred to 'stirring events'. *The Illustrated London News*, for example, sent their Special Artist, Melton Prior, to South Africa to make a series of sketches 'in anticipation of stirring events in that country', *The Illustrated London News*, 11 January, 1896, p.1. An account of events in Johannesburg during the Jameson Raid, published in 1897, was described in a contemporary review as 'a vivacious account of the stirring events in Johannesburg'. Review of 'A Woman's Part in a Revolution' by Mrs John Hays Hammond, London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1897, in *The London Evening Standard*, 17 April, 1897, p. 6.

²⁹²*Lantern slide catalogue*. Glasgow: J. Lizars, 1912, p. 183.

²⁹³'A Description of Views', *Stirring Events in Johannesburg, 1896*.

that books of photographs were printed and commanded a large sale'.²⁹⁴ Nicholls, once again, was quick to sense a commercial opportunity. Indeed, he could hardly have failed to embrace it since the route of the Jubilee procession, which was nearly three miles long, passed along Pritchard Street, right in front of his studio.²⁹⁵ Within a few weeks Nicholls had produced a souvenir booklet containing 18 of his photographs of the Jubilee celebrations:²⁹⁶

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls, the popular photographer, has favoured us with a copy of the Jubilee Souvenir, which he has just published. It contains a series of admirable views of the principal sights at the commemoration and is well worth the price asked for it.²⁹⁷

Given the Empire-wide scale of the Jubilee celebrations, Nicholls hoped for sales beyond Johannesburg and, indeed, even beyond South Africa. In September, *Photography* magazine, reported that 'Mr Horace W. Nicholls of the Goch Studio, Johannesburg, has issued an interesting souvenir in connection with the late jubilee...'²⁹⁸ The celebrations in Johannesburg were reported widely in the British press but very few of Nicholls' photographs of the jubilee procession appear to have been reproduced in the British illustrated press at the time.²⁹⁹ Nicholls did, however, have a photograph of the procession reproduced in a part-work, published monthly by Cassell and Company. This was his first connection with a publication format with which he was later to become very familiar.³⁰⁰

Published from April 1897 onwards, *The Queen's Empire*, was advertised as:

²⁹⁴Neame, *City Built on Gold*, pp. 140-141. I have been unable to identify any published books of photographs of the jubilee celebrations other than that produced by Nicholls. However, individual photographs of the jubilee procession were sold by the Johannesburg printers and stationers, W.E. Burmester. Burmester had a float in the procession which appears in one of Nicholls' photographs.

²⁹⁵ Nicholls appears, in fact, to have photographed the procession from a raised dais slightly further down the street rather than from a window of his studio.

²⁹⁶*A Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee Festivities held in Johannesburg, South Africa, by Horace W. Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street*. Royal Photographic Society Collection. This was printed in Johannesburg by Hockey & Coulson, Ltd and is a more sophisticated product than his earlier booklets.

²⁹⁷*The Transvaal Critic*, 13 August, 1897. The price of the booklet is not known.

²⁹⁸*Photography*, 9 September, 1897, p. 568.

²⁹⁹ For two that were, see *Black and White*, 31 July, 1897, p. 145.

³⁰⁰*The Queen's Empire: A Pictorial and Descriptive Record* sold for 6d an issue. In 1899 it was published by Cassell & Co. in book-form. Nicholls' photograph, captioned *The Jubilee in the Golden City*, appears on p. 43.

A pictorial record in which the modes of government, national institutions, forms of worship, methods of travel, sports, recreations, occupations and home life of the inhabitants of the British Empire will be faithfully and vividly portrayed by means of artistic reproductions of photographic views, a large number of which have been made specially for this work.³⁰¹

The publication of *The Queen's Empire* in book-form in 1899 represents an example of another potential market for his work that Nicholls had begun to explore – book illustration. His photographs appear as illustrations in several books that were published in the late 1890s.³⁰²

Nicholls did not take photographs intended for a single, specific medium. Rather, he utilised their essential plurality, simultaneously exploring the different formats and commercial applications open to each of his photographs. Some of his studio portraits, for example, were re-purposed subsequently as magazine illustrations.³⁰³ Similarly, Nicholls' photographs of the aftermath of the dynamite explosion at Braamfontein were sold at the Goch studio as individual prints, reproduced as magazine illustrations, sold as lantern slides, exhibited at his father's studio on the Isle of Wight, and included in his self-published, *Stirring Events in Johannesburg, 1896*. His photograph of Commissioner Street in Johannesburg was sold as an individual print, included in the souvenir booklet, *Johannesburg*, sold as a lantern slide and reproduced as a part-work magazine and book illustration.³⁰⁴

Nicholls had begun to realise that his images retained a utility and commercial value which transcended their topicality. As generic 'stock' images his photographs could be used and re-used in different contexts, providing an ongoing source of income.

³⁰¹*The Wigton Advertiser*, 24 April, 1897, p. 8. Nicholls' photograph was not commissioned specially for *The Queen's Empire*. It is not, however, one of those which he had selected for his souvenir jubilee publication.

³⁰² See, for example, Charles G. Thomas, *Johannesburg in Arms, 1895-96: The Observations of a Casual Spectator*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896 – frontispiece 'Women and Children Leaving Johannesburg'. Mrs. Lionel Phillips, *Some South African Recollections*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899 – p. 144, 'Commissioner Street, Johannesburg'.

³⁰³ See for example, Nicholls' studio group portraits of 'Colonel Bettington and His Officers' (*Black and White*, 22 February, 1896, p. 233) and 'A Boer Family of Sharpshooters' (*Illustrated London News*, 26 August, 1899, p. 284) – future enemies, seated on the same rustic studio furniture.

³⁰⁴ RPS Negative 1446. This photograph was converted into a line drawing for use as an illustration in *Cassell's History of England (Century Edition)*.

For example, in May 1897, over a year after he took it, Nicholls' photograph of the crater caused by the dynamite explosion appeared in *The Strand Magazine*, illustrating a general article on explosions.³⁰⁵ He was also exploring the relationship between image and text and how a change of caption could affect a photograph's commercial potential. In 1900, for example, his instantaneous photograph of a diver in Madeira, taken in 1896 *en route* to Cape Town, was reproduced in *The Graphic*, captioned 'On the Way Home from South Africa'.³⁰⁶

Between the publication of these two photographs in 1897 and 1900, Nicholls' life changed dramatically. Following the fiasco of the Jameson Raid, Johannesburg had returned slowly to a degree of normality. However, the underlying causes of tension between the Uitlander community, and the Transvaal government had not been resolved. Neither side was willing to compromise. The British government, smarting from its perceived humiliation at what many politicians regarded as 'a bunch of peasant farmers', adopted an increasingly bellicose posture. The failure to achieve improved voting and taxation rights for Uitlanders became a pretext for a war which many regarded as inevitable.³⁰⁷ As the soldier and politician, Jan Smuts, commented in 1906:

The Jameson Raid was the real declaration of war in the Great Anglo-Boer conflict...And that is so in spite of the four years truce that followed...[the] aggressors consolidated their alliance...the

³⁰⁵Framley Steelcroft, 'Explosions', *The Strand Magazine*, May, 1897, pp. 498-506. This article also includes a photograph of the same event taken by Davies Brothers, Johannesburg. The enduring utility of this photograph as a stock image is illustrated by the fact that it was still being used 16 years later – C. E. Brand, 'A Striking Article About Explosions', *Penny Pictorial*, 5 April, 1913, pp. 201-203.

³⁰⁶*The Graphic*, 20 October, 1900, p. 380. The use of this misleading caption cannot be attributed to the actions of the magazine's editor. Nicholls was clearly complicit in this deception. In his catalogue of photographs of the South African War, *The Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*, despite his stated aim 'to preserve the continuity of his series, so that it may present events in the order in which they have occurred', Nicholls includes this photograph in the section titled 'From England to Pretoria During the War'. Such indiscretions may be regarded as minor; they do reveal, however, that Nicholls was, at least on occasion, prepared to sacrifice truth on the altar of commerce. Nicholls also occasionally wrote alternative captions which appeared on the prints themselves. His photograph reproduced in the Diamond Jubilee publication captioned 'Diamond Jubilee, War Dance', for example, was also printed with the caption 'Kaffir Warriors' - Mallinson Folio 74. This print has a caption on the back, in Nicholls' distinctive handwriting, 'Kaffir Mine Boys, Decorated for a War Dance.'

³⁰⁷ For a discussion of the causes of the South African War, see Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War*, London: The Folio Society, 1999 – Part I, 'Milner's War', pp. 9-148. Also, Frank Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, London: Harper Collins, 2000, pp. 300-330.

defenders on the other hand silently and grimly prepared for the inevitable.³⁰⁸

During the summer of 1899, as the political crisis deepened, many Uitlanders fled Johannesburg. Businesses suffered and the streets, usually bustling with life, became deserted.³⁰⁹ Once again, Johannesburg became the focus of attention for the British press who published numerous articles on 'The Transvaal Crisis'. Nicholls responded to a demand for illustrative material by supplying photographs of gold bullion being transferred from the National Bank of Johannesburg under armed guard. These photographs were not reproduced as engravings or half-tones but used as the basis for drawings by artists who altered, added and combined various elements of the scene to create a more dramatic composition – a process that had many similarities with the techniques of photocollage that were subsequently to become a notable characteristic of Nicholls' magazine illustrations.³¹⁰ (Figures 2.15 and 2.16).

With very few customers wanting their portraits taken, Nicholls tried to turn the political situation to his advantage by distributing the following advertisement:

The Vital Question: What shall we do with our wives and families during the coming crisis? To you who have decided to send them away, Horace W. Nicholls, The Photographer of Pritchard Street, would make the following suggestion: Have a complete Family Group taken before they leave.

To those men who have now been parted from their families for some time and have yet to be separated indefinitely, it will be galling to find, when the reunion comes, that you have gone out of the

³⁰⁸ Quoted in Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 7.

³⁰⁹ Nicholls took 'before and after' photographs of a crowded Pritchard Street 'during business hours in ordinary times' and the same, now deserted, street, 'during business hours today', which were published in *The Graphic*. 'The Transvaal Crisis: The Effect of the War Scare on Johannesburg', *The Graphic*, 7 October, 1899, pp. 478-479.

³¹⁰ RPS 2003-5001_0002_27543. See 'The Transvaal Crisis: Removing gold from the National Bank, Johannesburg', *Black and White*, 7 October, 1899, p. 1. 'Drawn by Hal Hurst from materials supplied by H. W. Nicholls, Johannesburg'. Also, 'The Transvaal Crisis: Despatching gold from the National Bank of Johannesburg to catch the Cape mail', *The Graphic*, 7 October, 1899, p. 480. 'Drawn by H. M. Paget. From a photograph by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg'.

children's memory, and this is all too frequent with young children. This can be avoided by sending them a new photograph of yourself, which will also be a pleasant surprise to the wife. Have this done while you can, by visiting Horace W. Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street.³¹¹

The 'vital question' asked by Nicholls in this advertisement had a personal resonance. Three years earlier, during the crisis leading up to the Jameson Raid, he had sent his family away to safety in Cape Town. Now, with war clouds gathering, he decided to do the same again:

I personally doubted whether it would really come to war; but after seriously talking the matter over with my wife, we decided it would be better for the children and herself to take the precaution of going away to the Cape Colony coast for a time.³¹²

Nicholls, too, now prepared to leave Johannesburg. Once again, he might be considered to have been 'in the right place at the right time'. According to Rob Powell, Nicholls became a war photographer, 'As much by the accident of his location as by anything else'.³¹³ Nicholls did, however, have a choice. He could have followed his family to safety, seeing out the crisis in Cape Town or have decided to cut his losses and return to Britain to re-build his career. Instead:

I decided to try to turn my camera to account by photographing every incident of interest...I resolved to go down to Dundee, where the British troops were, to get some photographs of them.

³¹¹ Quoted in Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 118. Buckland considers Nicholls' use of indefinitely 'may have been his idea of a joke'. I am more inclined to believe that Nicholls, as a devoted husband and father, was sincere in his sentiment, whilst, at the same time, wanting to make money.

³¹² Handwritten manuscript in the Royal Photographic Society Collection. This account was written 13 years after the events described. An edited version, illustrated with Nicholls' photographs, was published to mark the death of Sir George White, the general who commanded British troops during the siege of Ladysmith. Horace W. Nicholls, 'Keeping the Flag Flying: An Echo of Ladysmith', *Penny Pictorial*, 13 July, 1912, pp. 276-279. Nicholls probably combined seeing off his family with taking a photograph that was subsequently used by *The Illustrated London News*. 'Departure of Women and Children from Johannesburg', *The Illustrated London News*, 23 September, 1899, p. 424.

³¹³ Rob Powell, 'Levels of Truth: The Life and Work of Horace Nicholls', *The British Journal of Photography*, 26 June, 1981, p. 643.

Before doing so, I took up the floor of one of the rooms of my bungalow, which had a six-foot cavity in the foundation, and there I buried nearly all my furniture...Leaving the house in charge of my Kaffir servant...I started off for Dundee with my hand-camera early in October, 1899.³¹⁴

Horace Nicholls was about to become a war photographer.

³¹⁴ Ibid. The British had a brigade of troops in Dundee, under the command of Maj-Gen Symons, GOC Natal. Nicholls' was mistaken about his date of departure. He left Johannesburg on 27 September – 'I left Johannesburg last Wednesday evening' – letter from Nicholls dated 30 September, printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*. 'A Windsor Man in South Africa', *Windsor and Eton Express*, 11 November, 1899, p. 5. It reflects the fact that many war photographers at the time still used tripod-based cameras that Nicholls specifically mentions his 'hand-camera'. This camera was his Newman and Guardia camera that he used throughout the campaign.

Chapter Two - Illustrations



Figure 2.1. Cabinet card portrait, James F. Goch Art Studio. Author's collection.



Figure 2.2. Cabinet card portrait. Horace W. Nicholls, Goch Studio.

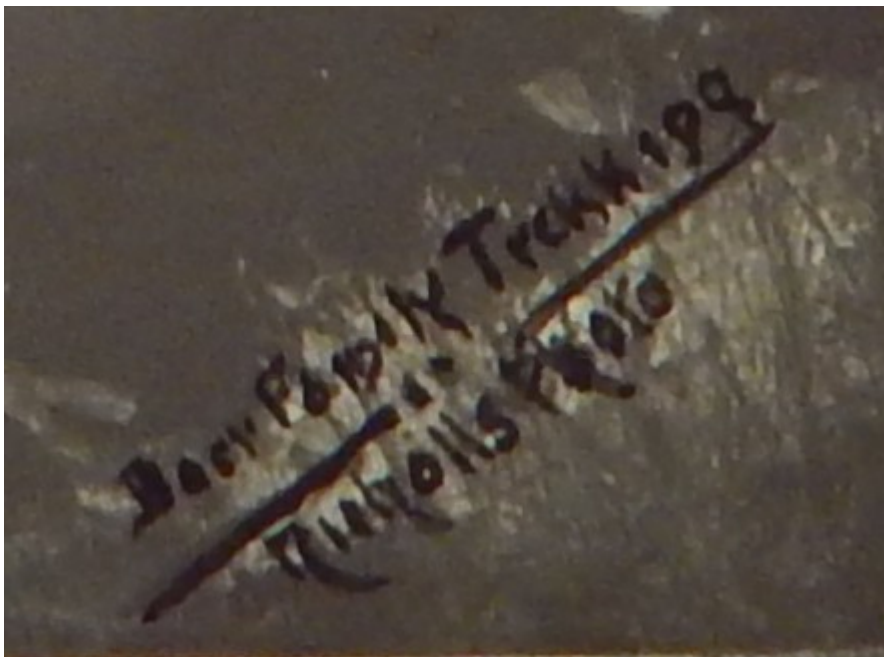


Figure 2.3. RPS Neg 1471



Figure 2.4. Interior of the Goch studio. RPS Neg 1492 (virtual positive)



Figure 2.5. *Goch's Views of Johannesburg*. Courtesy of Brett McDougall.



Figure 2.6. *Johannesburg*. RPS Collection.



Figure 2.7 'Commissioner Street, Johannesburg'.

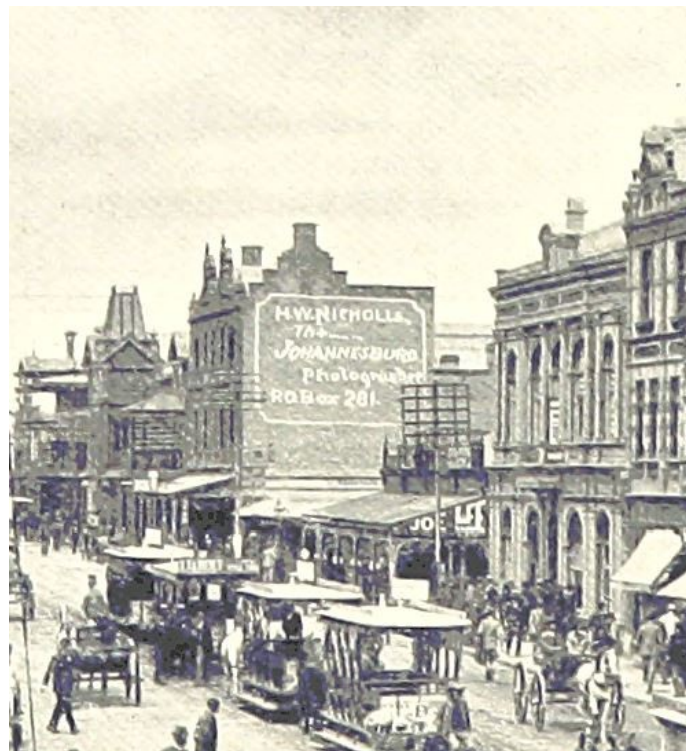


Figure 2.8 'Commissioner Street, Johannesburg'. Detail from plate in Mrs Lionel Phillips, *Some South African Recollections*, 1899.



Figure 2.9. 'A Jinricksha'. The child is Nicholls' son, George.



Figure 2.10. Nicholls family archive, Folio No. 70.



Figure 2.11. 'Kaffir Method of Carrying Children', Nicholls family archive, Folio No. 79.

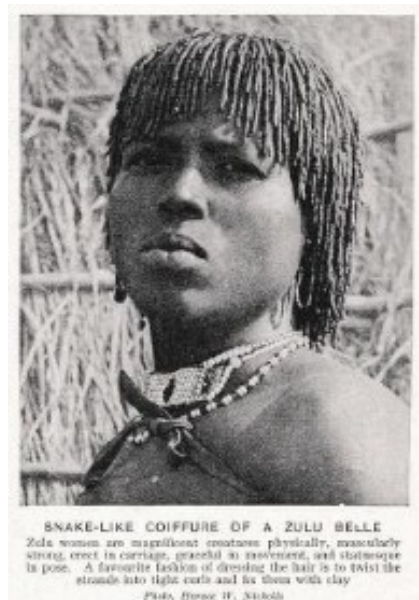


Figure 2.12. 'Snake-Like Coiffure of a Zulu Belle', *Peoples of All Nations*, p. 4691 (South Africa & Its Peoples).

The terrible disaster explains which took place at Independence on Ash Wednesday next, after the "the day" out of the hands of the ocean for the first time. It was caused by the eruption of fifty-three tons of dynamite, which had been lying in various places in the place of the sea. The explosion was the explosion that a large hole was torn in the earth two hundred feet long and thirty feet deep. Destruction has been caused throughout the whole town. The wretched condition of green-digger stores in the accompanying photograph will give some idea of the death toll.

A firm of jewelers carrying on business in the Street has just been severely surprised, and I think that a public warning will save the interests of the trade. - Some few days ago a steamer came to the shop

a dealer, his loss will be about fifteen of the best. Truly, our people the eye of Apollo and an intelligence to watch to prevent the great act of doing as previous things.

I was sorry to learn that Captain Powell, U.S.N., the popular officer who was in charge of the transport Maile during the recent Ashland Expedition, had contracted the horrible Old Coast fever just before the return of his ship to this country, had been transferred to the hospital, ship Commodore, and had been landed at Las Palmas in coming his voyage. - I am glad to say that letters from the island inform me that Captain Powell, though severely prostrated by the complaint, is now making a somewhat slow recovery. Mrs. Powell has joined her husband at Las Palmas, and their large circle of friends may hope to see them



THE MEN AT THE



THE NEW STORE.



WASTED FOR WOOD.



A NEW CASE IN THE OFFICE.

Photograph by Messrs. Smith and by Messrs. Puffer Smith, Independence.

in question, and produced an antique time, for which he asked twenty pounds, saying he had been offered twenty five, but hesitated to take the offer, and would not get it repaired. The shop-keeper said he would not buy but would have it, and try to sell on commission. The intending vendor, whom I call Mr. A, was satisfied and withdrew. On the following day, a stranger, well-dressed and respectable, came in to see some "antiques." The name was shown to him, among other things, it took his fancy; he asked the price. "Twenty-five pounds," said the dealer. "I'll take it," said the stranger, and then, having in his pocket, said he had left his pocket book at home, and had not enough money to pay for it. "However," he continued, "keep it for me until the end of the week, when I shall be passing again, and I'll have you a deposit of a couple of hundred pounds." Two days after Mr. A. happened. "I must have that one back please," he said. "I have an offer of twenty-five pounds for it again." Here was a squandering time which the dealer had made enough by paying twenty-five pounds cash. Needless to say, neither Mr. A. nor the respectable customer has been seen since, and the man to whom, at least only, about 250 pounds. Unless the dealer meets

in England where there is no risk of our spring the winter being suspended by a money spring, or in whatever the case.

I would now again mention the many readers of The Sketch who subscribe to Maile's that the Saturday early closing season of the great New Zealand Street Library begins on Easter Eve, April 4, the date which had for the production of "The Gay Deceiver" at the Duke of York's Theatre, and the new Star-Shed drama at the Princess's, and for the opening of the Singapore House's spring season of operas at Henry Lane-Maile's Library will start at new volume on Thursday right away on to the end of October. Perhaps in due due practice will be extended to "all the year round."

At Mr. Alving's last performance in aid of the House of Good for Boston—the success he has given an insight of the excellent and interesting character—"The Merchant of Venice" will be presented. The character of Portia will then be supported, I am told, by Miss Charles Wells.



Figure 2.14. 'Life on Board a South African Liner', *The Sketch*, 1 July, 1896.



Figure 2.15. RPS 2003-5001_0002_27543



Figure 2.16. 'The Transvaal Crisis: Despatching gold from the National Bank of Johannesburg to catch the Cape mail', *The Graphic*, 7 October, 1899, p. 480. 'Drawn by H. M. Paget. From a photograph by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg'.

CHAPTER THREE

Fresh from the Front

On 30 September 1899, Horace Nicholls was with an advance column of British troops at Dundee, Natal:

I have spent most of my time...photographing incidents of camp life. There are several regiments represented here, but it is a great difficulty to distinguish one from the other because they are all dressed in khaki, which is very much the same colour as the ground and puzzles the enemy.³¹⁵

The nature of warfare had undergone a rapid transformation in the late nineteenth century. Stephen Bottomore has written a concise summary of the ways that artists and photographers responded to these changes in his thesis on the origins of the war film.³¹⁶ Longer-range and more accurate rifles and artillery using smokeless powder had made camouflage and concealment crucial. Brightly coloured uniforms were giving way to khaki and the British army was now dressed in 'Khaki Drill' (KD).³¹⁷ The improved effectiveness of weapons led to a greater emphasis on defence, and increased weapon ranges resulted in an expansion of battlefields. Opposing forces were now hundreds of yards apart, concealed from view while exchanging long range rifle, machine gun and artillery fire. Cavalry charges and

³¹⁵ Letter from Nicholls to his brother-in-law, Sidney Holderness, dated 30 September, 1899, printed in *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 11 November, 1899, p. 5. Nicholls, too, adopted quasi-military dress, wearing a khaki tunic and pith helmet. While in Dundee, Nicholls stayed at the Masonic Hotel.

³¹⁶ Stephen Bottomore, *Filming, Faking and Propaganda: The Origins of the War Film, 1897-1902*, Doctoral Thesis, Utrecht University, 2007 – Chapter One, 'Representing War in the Nineteenth Century: Artists, photographers, and the changing battlefield.' <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/22650/index.htm%3Bjsessionid=0D3DE973751F58470AB9705CB07E89E0?sequence=6> (accessed 30/07/2018).

³¹⁷ Khaki uniforms had first been introduced for some British troops in India in the mid-C19th to 'make them invisible in a land of dust'. By 1885 the rest of the army in India followed suit and for the South African War all British troops were dressed in Khaki Drill (KD). See Selwyn Hodson-Pressinger, 'Khaki Uniform, 1848-49', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. 82, No. 332 (Winter 2004) pp. 341-347.

close-order, hand-to-hand combat were becoming increasingly uncommon. In 1901, the military theorist, Jean de Bloch, remarked that:

The romance of war has vanished into thin air with its gaudy uniforms, unfurled banners, and soul-stirring music. Military operations have become as prosaic as ore-smelting, and far less respectable.³¹⁸

Few people were better placed to notice this dramatic change in the way wars were fought than veteran war correspondents. Frederic Villiers, who had been reporting on wars since the 1870s had his first experience of this 'modern style of warfare' in 1894, during the Sino-Japanese War:

...there was no blare of bugals (sic) or roll of drums; no display of flags or of martial music of any sort...It was most uncanny to me after my previous experiences of war...All had changed in this modern warfare: it seemed to me a very cold-blooded, uninspiring way of fighting, and I was mightily depressed for many weeks till I had grown accustomed to the change.³¹⁹

The 'prosaic' nature of modern warfare was also noted by Nicholls who reflected, with a hint of sadness, 'Tommy Atkins here looks a very dull and dingey man as when compared with his appearance when on parade at home'.³²⁰ Most importantly, the new, smoke-free, battlefield with its 'invisible' khaki-clad soldiers presented a far less picturesque subject for war correspondents and artists. These changes in the technology and nature of warfare were to have a dramatic effect on the work of being a war correspondent or photographer.

³¹⁸ Jean de Bloch, 'Wars of the Future', *Contemporary Review*, September 1901, pp. 305-332.

³¹⁹ Frederic Villiers, *Villiers: His Five Decades of Adventure*, London: Harper & Bros, 1920, Vol. 2, p. 134. For accounts of Villiers' long career, see also F. Lauriston Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1914, pp. 155-191, Roy Compton, 'Mr Frederic Villiers', *The Idler*, September, 1897, pp. 239-255, Pat Hodgson, *The War Illustrators*, London: Osprey, 1977 and Peter Johnson, *Front Line Artists*, London: Cassell, 1978.

³²⁰ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 11 November, 1899, p. 5. Queen Victoria would have shared this view. In 1884, she had described 'kharkee' uniforms as 'hideous' and hoped never to see them in Britain – Letter from Sir H. F. Ponsonby, quoted in Bottomore, *Filming, Faking and Propaganda*.

As Nicholls busied himself at Dundee photographing incidents of camp life, the outbreak of war was now widely regarded as being merely a matter of time. The editors of British newspapers and magazines had been anticipating war for months. Throughout the summer, they had devoted many pages and column inches to covering the 'Transvaal Crisis'. Photographs and sketches of generic scenes in South Africa appeared regularly, providing readers with a visual context for the deteriorating situation.³²¹ South African-based correspondents, artists and photographers alone, however, could not supply all the material needed to satisfy the demands of the British press in the event of war. By September, several British newspapers and magazines had already begun to despatch correspondents to South Africa in the certain expectation of war. On September 30, for example, *The Graphic* announced: 'In view of the probability of war being declared between this country and The Transvaal the proprietors of *The Graphic* and *The Daily Graphic* have despatched Mr. W. T. Maud to South Africa to act as their special artist-correspondent...Readers of *The Graphic* will know that if war should unfortunately break out, they will be well served in the way of pictures from the front...' ³²²

Nicholls was well aware that war was brewing:

Day by day matters assumed a growing appearance of approaching war...I decided to try to turn my camera to account by photographing every incident of interest.³²³

As war had not yet been declared, Nicholls found it a simple matter to obtain permission to take photographs around the camp:

I went to see the Colonel commanding the forces here on my arrival, and he kindly gave me his full permission to do what I pleased about the camp. I told him I would like to follow the column when it advanced, but he told me that I must obtain that permission from the

³²¹ Some of these photographs had been supplied by Nicholls – see Chapter Two.

³²² *The Graphic*, 30 September 1899, p. 17. Shortly after his arrival in Cape Town, William Theobald Maud (1865-1903) left for Natal where he became trapped in Ladysmith during the siege.

³²³ Handwritten manuscript in the Royal Photographic Society Collection. This account was written 13 years after the events described. An edited version, illustrated with Nicholls' photographs, was published to mark the death of Sir George White, the general who commanded British troops during the siege of Ladysmith. Horace W. Nicholls, 'Keeping the Flag Flying: An Echo of Ladysmith', *Penny Pictorial*, 13 July, 1912, pp. 276-279.

General in Maritzburg, to whom I have written, and his reply will greatly decide my future movements...³²⁴

On 1 October, Nicholls received a positive response from Headquarter Office, Natal:

There is no objection to your going where you like at present and no pass is necessary. Of course, you cannot take any photos of any works, barracks or fortifications.³²⁵

According to Nicholls' account written in 1912:

I then went down to Durban where I met Mr. E.P. Mathers, the editor of the London journal "South Africa", who kindly appointed me to represent his paper in the field of military operations; and, armed with this authority, I busied myself between Ladysmith and Maritzburg, getting my subjects in the former place, and proceeding to the latter to finish them and mail them to England.³²⁶

The precise sequence of events associated with Nicholls' accreditation was, in reality, however, slightly more convoluted than Nicholls suggests.³²⁷ Nicholls did not go immediately to Durban but travelled from Dundee to Ladysmith where he 'spent several days in the different Regular and Volunteer camps, picking up subjects which I thought might be of interest'.³²⁸ On about 5 October he then travelled to Maritzburg where he spent the next few days photographing troopers and officers of the Imperial Light Horse (ILH). This recently-formed regiment was made up of volunteers from Johannesburg. Most of the men were Uitlanders and many of its officers had been

³²⁴*Windsor and Eton Express*, 11 November, 1899, p. 5. Permission to photograph around the camp was granted by the commanding officer, Colonel Moller of the 18th Hussars, signing one of Nicholls' calling cards. It is interesting to note that on this card Nicholls makes no reference to the Goch Studio but describes himself as a 'Photo Artist' and 'Photographer for the London Illustrated Journals'. As Nicholls had closed up his home in Johannesburg the card gives his address as 'New Club, Johannesburg'. Calling card in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.2. Nicholls' letter to Headquarters in Maritzburg was sent on 28 September.

³²⁵Letter in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.2.

³²⁶Horace W. Nicholls, 'Keeping the Flag Flying: An Echo of Ladysmith', *Penny Pictorial*, 13 July, 1912, pp. 276-279.

³²⁷ This discrepancy may have been due to faulty memory (the events described had taken place 13 years earlier). However, Nicholls did retain all the relevant documents relating to these events so he may simply have been attempting to create a simpler narrative.

³²⁸*Windsor and Eton Express*, 11 November, 1899, p. 5

members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee. Nicholls personally knew many of them:

When I visited their camp, I found many old friends and a strong desire possessed me to join the Regiment. Had I been single I should doubtless have changed the camera for a gun.³²⁹

On 9 October, Nicholls was introduced to ILH's commander, Colonel Scott-Chisholme, who endorsed Nicholls' calling card, giving him permission to remain with and photograph the regiment.³³⁰ Two days later, war was declared.³³¹

The die was cast, and I was finding endless food for my camera. In fact, instead of languishing under enforced idleness, as so many of my brother Uitlanders were compelled to do, through being turned out of their homes and away from their businesses in Johannesburg, I had every hope of turning matters to profitable account, as well as providing pictures of interest for the British public, who at that time were thirsting for information from the front.³³²

Nicholls' claim that the public were 'thirsting for information' may have been expressed with the benefit of hindsight but it was accurate. Nicholls was determined to make the most of the opportunity that the outbreak of war presented. The declaration of war, however, had changed fundamentally the conditions under which he would have to work. Chats with friendly officers and signed calling cards were no longer sufficient. Natal was now under martial law and all correspondents had to

³²⁹Handwritten manuscript in RPS Collection. Had he volunteered, Nicholls may not have been accepted; Only 444 officers and men were chosen from 5,000 volunteers.

³³⁰Scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.4. Colonel Scott-Chisholme was killed less than two weeks later, on 21 October, leading his men in the Battle of Elandslaagte.

³³¹The standard history of the war is Thomas Pakenham's *The Boer War*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979. For a discussion of the historiography of the war see Andrew Porter, 'The South African War and the Historians', *African Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 397, October 2000, pp. 633-648. The conflict has been given many different names over the years. For Anglophile historians 'The Boer War' was used for many years. More recently, the more neutral and all-embracing 'South African War' is considered more appropriate.

³³²Horace W. Nicholls, 'Keeping the Flag Flying: An Echo of Ladysmith', *Penny Pictorial*, 13 July, 1912, pp. 276-279. This published version differs slightly from the handwritten manuscript in the RPS Collection which reads: 'I had every hope of turning the war to profitable account, to in some way make up for the loss of my business in Johannesburg and so help to keep my family going during the dark days that were to come'.

abide by the censorship rules laid down by the army.³³³ Initially, these were the rules drawn up by the War Office in 1889 following the recent Egyptian campaign, *Revised Rules for Newspaper Correspondents at the Seat of War*.³³⁴ All correspondents had to have a licence, granted under the authority of the Commander in Chief, which stated the name of the newspaper, magazine or agency for which they worked. A dedicated Staff Officer was assigned as the link between the army and the correspondents and was invested with undefined powers of censorship.

If Nicholls wanted to turn 'the war to profitable account' he could now only do so if he represented a newspaper or magazine. Consequently, it was only now, following the declaration of war that Nicholls travelled to Durban to meet with Edward Mathers, the editor and proprietor of *South Africa* magazine.³³⁵ It is not known whether Nicholls or Mathers initiated this meeting but the outcome was beneficial to both men; Nicholls now had a formal link with a publication, which meant that he could obtain a war correspondent's licence; Mathers now had another source of photographic illustrations for his magazine.³³⁶ Mathers duly provided Nicholls with a letter of accreditation:

This is to certify that Mr. Horace W. Nicholls is authorised to represent 'South Africa' newspaper in the field of military operations in South Africa.³³⁷

³³³ For a detailed discussion of press censorship during the South African War, see Jaqueline Beaumont, 'The British Press and Censorship during the South African War', *South African Historical Journal*, No. 41, November 1999, pp. 267-289 and Jacqueline Beaumont Hughes, 'The Press and the Public during the Boer War 1899-1902', *The Historian*, 1999, pp. 10-15. See also, Donal P. McCrachen, 'The Relationship between British War Correspondents in the Field and British Military Intelligence during the Anglo-Boer War', *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2015, pp. 99-126 and Nicholas Wilkinson, *Secrecy and the Media*, London: Routledge, 2009 (Chapter 2, 'Regulation of the Press, and the Boer War', pp. 11-20.

³³⁴ National Archives, WO 32/7138.

³³⁵ Born in Edinburgh, Edward Peter Mathers worked as a journalist on several provincial newspapers before emigrating to South Africa in 1878. He settled in Durban and after covering the Zulu War of 1879, became editor of the *Natal Advertiser*. In 1889 he returned to London where he started *South Africa*, described as a journal 'for all those interested in South African affairs'. See Anon, *The Story of South Africa Newspaper and its Founder (Edward P. Mathers): Told by Others*, London: South Africa, 1903. This book contains reproductions of two photographs by Nicholls – see p. 111. See also, Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 191-192.

³³⁶ Nicholls was just one of several South African-based photographers who supplied images for *South Africa*. Others included Davies Bros., Duffus Bros. and Barnett, all of whom had studios in Johannesburg.

³³⁷ Letter in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.4. This letter is dated 23 October. Nicholls was certainly in Durban as early as the previous

By 26 October Nicholls was back in Ladysmith, just in time to photograph General Yule's exhausted troops as they entered the town at the end of their epic 60-mile march retreating from Dundee.³³⁸ Three days later he met with the British commanding officer, General Sir George White at his 'humble headquarters'.³³⁹

I was much struck with Sir George White's great courtesy. He asked me if he could be of any assistance to me. I told him I was most anxious if there should be an engagement in the vicinity to be allowed to accompany the men at the front. I showed him my credentials and he kindly asked Major Altham to enter me on the list and give me a War Correspondents Licence.³⁴⁰

Nicholls was subsequently given licence No. 37:

Mr H W Nicholls having signed the Declaration attached to the Rules for Newspaper Correspondents accompanying Troops in the Field, is hereby Licenced to act as Correspondent for the South Africa...He is authorised to draw rations for himself and one servant, and forage for one horse.³⁴¹

Nicholls was soon exposed to his first experience of warfare. The Boers had set up a gun platform on Pepworth Hill about four miles outside Ladysmith and began to bombard the town. General White planned a sortie to silence the guns. In the early hours of the morning of 30 October Nicholls was awoken by the sound of troops moving down the main street, outside his hotel. Pausing only to fill his pockets with bread and granadillas, he made his way 'towards the sound of the artillery fire'. He described his experiences in a letter to his wife that was subsequently published in

day since he photographed refugees arriving there on board the 'Avondale Castle' on 22 October.

³³⁸ This event was the subject for some of Nicholl's most powerful and frequently reproduced images, including *After 60 Miles*, *The Leicesters reaching Ladysmith from Dundee* and *Ladysmith in Sight after Dundee*. It is interesting that Nicholls was able to take these photographs even though at this time he did not have a correspondent's licence.

³³⁹ Nicholls probably used this meeting as the opportunity to photograph the building, a tin-roofed, red-brick bungalow which was previously a convent.

³⁴⁰ Handwritten manuscript in the RPS Collection.

³⁴¹ Scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.6. The licence is dated 29 October.

The Windsor and Eton Express.³⁴² On the outskirts of the town, Nicholls took cover with some soldiers of the Devonshire Regiment who were firing on a group of Boers about 1,000 yards away:

...I took a photograph of them in the act of firing, which, however, loses its artistic effect from the fact that there is no smoke from the rifles...Whether any Boers dropped to these bullets I know not because I was intent on my camera, and almost as quickly as I could change my plate...a Maxim gun was rigged up...and trained on the Boers. This I photographed as well...³⁴³

A short while later Nicholls came across an ambulance train where he sat down to rest:

I had not been sitting there for more than five minutes when whizz came a shell right into the ambulance train and killed one of the poor "Doolie bearers" not more than a stone's throw from where I was sitting...the groans and moans of the poor fellows who...were in the vans, was an experience too horrible for one unused to it. One poor chap...was brought up with his leg blown off with a shell and laying almost dead over a gun-carriage that brought him up (a terrible sight) ...I had, by this time, finished my plates, and, feeling sick at the sights I had seen, started off on my march back to Ladysmith.³⁴⁴

Nicholls later summed up his experiences that day as a mixture of 'thrills and horrors'.³⁴⁵ Considering that this was his first time under fire, he seems to have

³⁴² This letter was sent to Florence who then forwarded it to her brother Sidney in Windsor for publication in the local newspapers. The impersonal tone of the letter, combined with its detailed narrative of the battle suggests that this was its intended readership. This convoluted method of communication may have been a way of circumventing censorship.

³⁴³ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 9 December, 1899, p. 8. The letter was also published the same day in *The Windsor Chronicle*. Nicholls was not alone in his criticism of the aesthetics of the smokeless battlefield. An American correspondent complained during the Spanish-American War in 1898: 'The use of smokeless powder takes all the picturesqueness out of an infantry battle'. H. Irving Hancock, *What One Man Saw: Being the Personal Impressions of a War Correspondent in Cuba*, New York: Street & Smith, 1900, p. 82.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* A 'doolie' (or dhoolie) is a stretcher. Although the Indian Army was not deployed to South Africa, a number of Indian stretcher bearers did take part in the conflict.

³⁴⁵ Horace W. Nicholls, 'Keeping the Flag Flying: An Echo of Ladysmith', p. 279. The handwritten manuscript in the RPS Collection differs slightly – referring to just the 'Horrors of War'.

displayed a remarkable degree of personal courage and sang-froid.³⁴⁶ Even though he had witnessed death and mutilation at close quarters, he remained detached and calm enough to continue using his camera. While presented with opportunities to do so, Nicholls chose not to photograph the more distressing realities of war; There are no dead bodies in Nicholls' photographs. A notable exception is a graphic photograph which shows the wounded artilleryman whose leg has been off that he had described in the letter to his wife. This photograph was later captioned by Nicholls as *Terrible Effect of a Shell*.³⁴⁷ Nicholls, when listing his photographs of the war for sale, later wrote that he hoped that they would 'appeal to the artistic sense of the most fastidious'.³⁴⁸ Nicholls reluctance to photograph the realities of war, however, was not, I suggest, due to any qualms he might have had regarding the aestheticization of suffering and making 'beautiful' images of war, but based on pragmatic considerations.³⁴⁹ Graphic images would not have been marketable to the illustrated press since they would not have been compatible with the heroic and patriotic narrative of the war they presented.

Despite 'feeling sick' at what he had seen, Nicholls enjoyed a glass of beer when he got back to Ladysmith and managed to eat his dinner at the hotel that evening. He was certainly not traumatised by his first experience of combat and realised that if he was now to turn it to 'profitable account' he would have to ensure not only that his photographs were published but that they were published as quickly as possible.

Well, having got my negatives and had my fill of a battle-field, I
decided to leave Ladysmith and try to catch the English mail with my

³⁴⁶ The role of war correspondent entailed a high degree of risk. On 6 June 1900, *The Daily Express* published a list of casualties within the British press corps. There was an 18 per cent casualty rate, with six killed, three dying from disease, 13 invalided with fever, six wounded, and 19 being taken prisoner. Quoted in McCrachen, p.100.

³⁴⁷ Listed as No. 138 in his catalogue, 'Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900.

³⁴⁸ *Memorable Incidents and Striking Features of the South African Campaign: A Series of Historic Pictures Printed in Permanent Carbon, from Photographs taken at the Front, by Horace W. Nicholls.*

³⁴⁹ For current debates on the ethics of photographing suffering and the aestheticization of war images see Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 2003 and Mark Reinhardt, Holly Edwards and Erin Duganne (eds), *Beautiful Suffering: Photography and the Traffic in Pain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

photos from Maritzburg, so took the train again at 8.30 and reached here at 3.30 on Tuesday morning.³⁵⁰

Nicholls only just made it. Two days later, the Boers cut the railway line from Ladysmith and the town was besieged for the next four months.³⁵¹

By the end of October 1899, the trickle of correspondents coming from Britain which had started in September had turned into a torrent. Previous British colonial wars had been reported by just a handful of correspondents.³⁵² The South African War, in contrast, attracted them in unprecedented numbers. The work of these Victorian war correspondents has been the subject of Philip Knightley's seminal and influential *The First Casualty* and also of books by Pat Hodgson, Paul Hogarth, Peter Johnson and Robert Wilkinson-Latham.³⁵³ During the war, the total number of named war correspondents with licences on the British side reached nearly 300.³⁵⁴ Typically, the main London daily newspapers each had four or five correspondents in South Africa

³⁵⁰ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 9 December, 1899, p. 8. The celebrated Victorian war correspondent Archibald Forbes was quoted by Frederic Villiers as saying that a correspondent must remember five important things: 'However interesting a battle may be, you must always get away before your communications are out, otherwise your material will be held up, or never arrive. You must not be taken prisoner, for then you will be out of business completely. You must not get wounded, for then you will become a useless expense to your paper. And if you get killed you will be an infernal fool'. Quoted in Paul Hogarth, *The Artist as Reporter*, London: Gordon Fraser, 1986, p. 31.

³⁵¹ Nicholls later claimed, with slight exaggeration, that he had 'managed by merest chance, to get out of Ladysmith by the last mail train before the town was invested', Horace Nicholls, 'Campaigning with a Camera', introduction to *Uitlanders and Colonists Who Fought for the Flag*, 1900. The last train from Ladysmith left on 2 November, two days after Nicholls' departure.

³⁵² Some of these special correspondents, who included Archibald Forbes, Melton Prior, William Howard Russell and Frederic Villiers, became celebrities in their own right. See, F. Lauriston Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1914. For a contemporary account, see 'Some Prominent War Correspondents', *The English Illustrated Magazine*, January, 1900, pp. 386-389.

³⁵³ Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker*, London: Andre Deutsch, 1975. Pat Hodgson, *The War Illustrators*, London: Osprey, 1977, Paul Hogarth, *The Artist as Reporter*, London: Gordon Fraser, 1986, Peter Johnson, *Front Line Artists*, London: Cassell Ltd, 1978, and Robert Wilkinson-Latham, *From our Special Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and their Campaigns*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.

³⁵⁴ For an excellent survey, see Stephen Badsey, 'War Correspondents in the Boer War', in John Gooch (ed.), *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image*, London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 187-202. Donal P. McCrachen calculates the total number of correspondents as 276. Not all of them were present at the same time, of course, but this was 'probably the largest number of war correspondents ever to cover an imperial war in the history of the British Empire', McCrachen, p.100. McCrachen has compiled a table of correspondents organised by name of newspaper, magazine or agency, number of accredited correspondents with each, and names of correspondents. Nicholls is listed as 'H. Nicholl' (sic), working for *South Africa* – McCrachen, pp. 118-122. For contemporary listings of correspondents see, National Archives WO 32/7137 and WO 100/371; National Army Museum, London, 8104-22, list of war correspondents drawn up by Major Maurice during his term as press censor.

at a time.³⁵⁵ Pearson's, one of the leading British publishing houses, claimed that it had 50 correspondents at the front.³⁵⁶ *Black and White Budget*, claimed that its 'unrivalled selection of pictures, sketches and photographs', was due to them having a 'little army of correspondents...on the spot'.³⁵⁷ Keeping these teams of correspondents in the field was expensive. *The Sphere* claimed that it was costing them 'some thousands of pounds in maintaining artists at the front'.³⁵⁸ Newspapers and magazines were only able to employ large numbers of correspondents because their cost was defrayed by increased sales. The old axiom that 'wars sell papers' rang true. Moreover, the public now wanted their war news in the form of pictures and photographs as well as words. The war was a boon to the illustrated press, with increased circulation figures for existing publications and several new titles being launched.³⁵⁹ Competition was intense, with each publication claiming to have the best pictorial coverage of the war. Detailed circulation figures are not available and contemporary claims have to be considered with caution but, as *The Bookman* observed in January 1900:

...the illustrated newspapers have been doing splendidly. The *Illustrated London News* and the *Graphic* have been printing

³⁵⁵ Figure quoted in Badsey, *War Correspondents in the Boer War*, p. 190. At one stage, *The Times* had sixteen correspondents covering the war. See Jacqueline Beaumont, 'The Times at War, 1899-1902' in Donal Lowry (ed), *The South African War Reappraised*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. 67-83.

³⁵⁶ See Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 171.

³⁵⁷ 'This has been possible only through the untiring efforts of the little army of correspondents which the Proprietors raised to chronicle on the spot the stirring events of the greatest campaign of recent years', 'What we are Doing', *Black and White Budget*, 13 January, 1900, p. 2. Notice the reference to 'stirring events'. *Black and White Budget* was launched in October 1899. They claimed to have 15 'reliable correspondents' covering the war. Priced at 2d a copy, it provided, as its name suggests, a cheaper illustrated account of the war than its near namesake, *Black and White*.

³⁵⁸ *The Sphere*, 24 March, 1900, p. 274. The top special correspondents were rumoured to earn as much as £2,000 a year in wartime – see Fred A. Mackenzie, 'English War-Correspondents in South Africa', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, July, 1900, p. 210.

³⁵⁹ These new titles included, *The Sphere*, *The Spear*, *The King* and *Black and White Budget*. For the impact of the South African War on pictorial journalism see Peter Harrington, 'Pictorial Journalism and the Boer War: The London Illustrated Weeklies' in John Gooch (ed.), *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image*, London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 224-244. For a comprehensive survey of illustrated newspapers and periodicals see Ryno Greenwall, *Artists and Illustrators of the Anglo-Boer War*, Vlaeberg: Fernwood Press, 1992 – Part Two: 'Newspapers and Periodicals', pp. 49-72.

something like one hundred and twenty-five thousand copies a week.³⁶⁰

Magazine editors drew upon a wide variety of sources for their illustrations. As well as utilising the work of their in-house staff, all of the leading illustrated magazines sent 'specials' to cover the war.³⁶¹ Consequently, according to Peter Harrington who has surveyed the London weekly illustrated magazines published during the war: 'by the end of the war in 1902, it had become the most illustrated conflict in British history to date'.³⁶²

For the first time, photography played a major role in reporting war.

At the end of the nineteenth century, advances in the technologies of communication, photography, cinematography and photomechanical reproduction came together in the reporting of what has been described as 'the first media war'.³⁶³ According to film historian Simon Popple, the South African War was the 'first fully mediated conflict in British imperial history'.³⁶⁴ On 18 March 1997, BBC2 transmitted a television documentary as part of their *Timewatch* series, entitled *The Boer War: The First Media War*.³⁶⁵ There had, of course, already been photography of wars for

³⁶⁰ 'Literary London', *The Bookman*, January 1900, p. 477. The *Sphere* claimed that its first edition of 100,000 copies on 27 January 1900 sold out immediately and that twice as many could have been sold. Quoted in Harrington, *Pictorial Journalism*, p. 232.

³⁶¹ At home, additional staff artists had to be hired to handle the increased volume of work. In November 1899, for example, William Ingram, owner of *The Illustrated London News*, wrote to the artist, Allan Stewart: 'Would you care to make black and white drawings for the "Illustrated London News" during the S. African War. I think I could give you plenty of work if you care to undertake it and we arrange terms.' Quoted in Harrington, *Pictorial Journalism*, p. 389. For a comprehensive survey of the work of artists and illustrators who covered the South African War, see Ryno Greenwall, *Artists and Illustrators of the Anglo-Boer War*, Vlaeberg: Fernwwod Press, 1992.

³⁶² Harrington, *Pictorial Journalism*, p. 225.

³⁶³ Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image*, p.170. Earlier conflicts have also laid claim to the title. According to Ulrich Keller, the Crimean War was 'the first media war in history'. (Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual history of the Crimean War*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 251.) The Spanish-American War has also been called the first media war -http://www.pbs.org/crucible/frames/_journalism.html (accessed 07/08/2018). For a discussion of the role of the media in the South African War, see Kenneth O. Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media (1899-1902)', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2002, pp. 1-16. See also, Stephen Badsey, 'A Print and Media War' in Craig Wilcox (ed), *Recording the South African War*, London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1999, pp. 5-16 and Stephen Badsey, 'The Boer War as a Media War', in Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey (eds) *The Boer War: Army, Nation and Empire*, Canberra: Army History Unit, 2000.

³⁶⁴ Simon Popple, "But the Khaki-Covered Camera is the Latest Thing": The Boer War Cinema and Visual Culture in Britain' in *Young and Innocent? The Cinema in Britain 1896-1930*, ed. Andrew Higson (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), p.13-27.

³⁶⁵ This programme included photographs taken by Nicholls.

decades, and there are many popular histories of war photography in the nineteenth century by Lewinski, Fralin, Hodgson, Brewer and others.³⁶⁶ However, the scale of the photographic coverage of the South African War was unprecedented. All of the leading illustrated magazines sent photographers to capture the events of the war. Although photographers had also covered the Spanish-American War of 1898, far greater numbers were despatched to South Africa the following year.³⁶⁷ As *The British Journal of Photography* predicted in September, 1899: 'There is little doubt that, if war does unfortunately come about in South Africa, enterprising cinematographers and photographers will not be far off'.³⁶⁸

Many of the artists and reporters who went to South Africa also carried cameras. As *Amateur Photographer* magazine noted, practically all war correspondents 'whether artists by profession or only writers, carry with them on their perilous mission some form of hand camera'.³⁶⁹ Melton Prior had used a camera for several years. Others, such as René Bull, who worked for *Black and White*, were as proficient with a camera as they were with a pencil.³⁷⁰ Many serving soldiers also had Kodak cameras and submitted their snapshot photographs to magazines for publication.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Frances Fralin, *The Indelible Image: Photographs of War – 1846 to the Present*, New York: Abrams, 1985, Pat Hodgson, *Early War Photographs: 50 Years of War Photographs from the Nineteenth Century*, Reading: Osprey, 1974, Jorge Lewinski, *The Camera at War: War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day*, London: W. H. Allen, 1978, Paul Brewer, *Shots of War: 150 Years of Dramatic Photography from the Battlefield*, London: Carlton Books, 2010.

³⁶⁷ For photography of the Spanish-American War, see Frank Freidel, *The Splendid Little War: The Dramatic Story of the Spanish-American War*, New York: Little Brown, 1958, p.308 and John C. Hemment, *Cannon and Camera*, New York: Appleton and Co, 1898.

³⁶⁸ 'The Irrepressible Cinematograph', *The British Journal of Photography*, 22 September, 1899, p. 596.

³⁶⁹ *Amateur Photographer*, 13 January, 1900.

³⁷⁰ This is borne out by the large number of photographs taken by Bull which appeared in the magazine. For more information about Rene Bull, see *Black and White Budget*, 3 February, 1900, p. 6. Bull first used a camera during the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 where 'he was successful on many occasions in portraying scenes of actual fighting, such as had never before been recorded by any artist'. Photographs and sketches by Bull often appeared next to each other on the same pages of the magazine.

³⁷¹ George Eastman had introduced the first Kodak camera in 1888. By 1899 several different models of Folding Pocket Kodak cameras were on the market. For a selection of snapshots taken during the war, see Emanoel Lee, *To the Bitter End: A Photographic History of the Boer War, 1899-1902*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986. *The Photographic Chronicle* observed: 'Tommy Atkins, though continuously harassed by or harassing the Boers, still finds time to indulge in various hobbies. Amongst these is the use of the snap-shot camera, and occasionally some excellent pictures are the result'. 'Tommy Atkins and his Camera', *The Photographic Chronicle*, 26 December, 1901, p. 338. The Illustrated Press Bureau asked officers to send them negatives that they would develop and sell to suitable publications – See Beegan, *Mass Image*, p. 171.

Most illustrated magazines contained a combination of drawings and photographs, but the war also saw the publication of the first British magazine which relied entirely on photography. *The King* was launched on 6 January on the premise that photography was the only trustworthy method of recording the war. Its advertisements claimed:

Actual war photos. No fancy drawings. *The King* consistently uses war photographs, and not war sketches because people want truthful snap-shots taken in South Africa, and not fancy drawings worked up in London.³⁷²

The debates regarding the issues of truth and authenticity in the nineteenth century illustrated press and the merits of photography versus illustration have been explored by Geoffrey Belknap.³⁷³ Belknap, however, is primarily concerned with the period before photomechanical printing processes became widely used. Before the 1890s, photographs in the press had to be reproduced as engravings and every image was mediated by a human interlocutor, introducing the possibility of error and misinterpretation. By the time of the South African War advances in photomechanical printing meant that photographs could be reproduced directly. Whilst magazines continued to use engravings and drawn illustrations alongside photographs there was now a lively, ongoing and unresolved debate regarding the comparative merits of the camera and the pencil. William Wollen, an artist who worked for *The Sphere*, recognised the camera's abilities but also thought that photography had its limitations:

The camera has to a large extent superseded the war artist, but at the same time it is impossible for it to displace him. It has its proper place, and it can do certain things that to the artist are impossible, but it is incapable of suggesting that which an artist can do with a pencil.³⁷⁴

³⁷² Advertisement in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 February, 1900, p. 9. For a survey of the comparative use of photographs and drawings in four of the main illustrated weeklies (*Sphere*, *Black and White*, *Graphic* and *ILN*), see Harrington, *Pictorial Journalism*.

³⁷³ Geoffrey Belknap, *From a Photograph: Authenticity, Science and the Periodical Press, 1879-1890*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

³⁷⁴ William Wollen, 'War Pictures: How they are Painted', *The Regiment*, 15 February, 1902, pp. 308-309.

Unsurprisingly, the photographic press, held a different view:

A careful comparison of the photographic reproductions with those from sketches by the talented artists now employed by the leading illustrated papers should be sufficient to convince the most hardened believer in the mechanical character of photography that not only is the camera unrivalled as a delineator of actual events, but in capable hands there can be thrown into its pictures much that is of the greatest pictorial merit.³⁷⁵

Most magazines, appreciating the differing merits of both drawings and photographs, compromised and used a combination of both – photographs to provide information and ‘truthfulness’ and drawings to provide the dramatic images that the public wanted and had come to expect. This compromise was personified by the special correspondent who was an artist, but who also carried a camera.

As well as catch-all, multi-tasking, writer-artist-photographers, however, a few publications sent dedicated ‘photographic correspondents’ to cover the war.³⁷⁶ The concept of the specialised photographic correspondent was a relatively recent one. In 1896, *Photography* magazine had suggested:

...in the case of some of the superior magazines, for which draughtsman appear to have *carte blanche* to travel and sketch, it will be surprising if the publishers do not in a short time see the advantage of organising a similar staff of photographic correspondents, equipped with the proper training...³⁷⁷

The title ‘photographic correspondent’, however, did not necessarily mean that its bearer was an experienced or skilled photographer. In February 1900, *Photography* published short biographies of ‘leading photographic correspondents at the war’.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ ‘Photographers at the Front’, *Photography*, 8 February, 1900, p. 89. For more ‘for and against’ examples of this debate, see H. C. Shelley, ‘Photographs v. Sketches as a Record of the War’, *Photography*, 17 May, 1900, p. 337 and ‘Art Notes’, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 January, 1900, p. 1.

³⁷⁶ The term ‘photographic correspondent’ only seems to have come into general usage during the war. ‘Photographer correspondent’ was also used – see description of J. Wallace Bradley, a Natal-based photographer who supplied photographs to *The Graphic*, *London Daily News*, 2 March, 1900, p. 7.

³⁷⁷ ‘Pictures in Journalism’, *Photography*, 26 March, 1896, p. 206.

³⁷⁸ ‘Photographers at the Front’, *Photography*, 8 February, 1900, pp. 89-94.

One of these was J. Angus Hamilton, who represented *Black and White*. Hamilton was trapped in Mafeking and, as the only photographer there, secured a journalistic coup by supplying photographs of the siege which other magazines were unable to match.³⁷⁹ Hamilton's photographs are described as 'not free from technical defects by any means'. Perhaps this is not surprising since Mafeking was not only his first experience of war, it was also his first experience of photography. Before sailing for South Africa, Hamilton had been given just three days' instruction 'in which to acquire his knowledge of photography'.³⁸⁰

In marked contrast, one of the most experienced photographers despatched to South Africa was Reinhold Thiele, sent by *The Graphic* to cover the war in December 1899. Thiele had an extensive and varied photographic career was 'well known in London photographic circles as a thoroughly capable and enterprising photographer'.³⁸¹ It was anticipated that he would capture:

...scenes from the life of a soldier...in the South African Veldt, more varied, more accurate, and more complete than anything previously attempted in the field of pictorial war correspondence...If war-time photography can be made a success, Reinhold Thiele is just the man to make it so.³⁸²

The necessary qualities deemed to be possessed by Thiele included 'versatility', 'a robust personality', 'self-reliance' and 'an inexhaustible supply of health and good humor'. These qualities would, of course, be useful in any correspondent. Thiele, however, also possessed an indispensable quality which made him particularly suitable as a photographic correspondent – he was an experienced and skilful photographer. According to his employer: 'Mr. Thiele is the man of all others who can make war photography successful, for his training and experience have been just those which fit him for the post he now holds'.³⁸³ *Photography* magazine concurred:

³⁷⁹ He later wrote an account of the siege - J. Angus Hamilton, *The Siege of Mafeking*, London: Methuen, 1900.

³⁸⁰ 'Photographers at the Front', *Photography*, 8 February, 1900, p. 93.

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 91.

³⁸² 'Reinhold Thiele: A Man of Genius and Enterprise', *The Photogram*, December, 1899, pp. 356-360.

³⁸³ *Daily Graphic*, 7 February, 1900.

An important paper like *The Graphic* has to be represented at the front by something more than journalists who have taken up photography in a dilettante manner.³⁸⁴

The role of a photographic correspondent was slowly beginning to mutate from that of a correspondent who could also take photographs to somebody who was primarily a photographer, but who also had an instinct for journalism.

Horace Nicholls could reasonably lay claim to possessing all the personal qualities required of a photographic correspondent. He also, of course, had the necessary photographic knowledge and experience. What he did not possess at the beginning of the war, however, was any practical experience as a correspondent. He was fortunate, therefore, in being able to receive help and advice from some of those who did have this experience.³⁸⁵ Nicholls had not, of course, been the only correspondent covering events in Ladysmith.³⁸⁶ As well as several newspaper correspondents, there were also some 'specials' who doubled as photographers – René Bull for *Black and White*, and Melton Prior and George Lynch for *The Illustrated London News*. Nicholls mentioned that he was 'frequently with Melton Prior and René Bull in Ladysmith'.³⁸⁷ He later recalled:

I was standing in the courtyard of the Royal Hotel with Mr. Melton Prior, the late war artist of the "Illustrated London News" who, old campaigner that he was, kindly gave me many valuable hints.³⁸⁸

Given the comparative professional status of Nicholls and that of his celebrated fellow correspondents, Nicholls may well have been indulging in some 'name-

³⁸⁴ 'Photographers at the Front', *Photography*, 8 February, 1900, pp. 91.

³⁸⁵ There is an element of role reversal here. Whilst many correspondents were trying to pick up the basics of photography, Nicholls was trying to learn how to become a correspondent.

³⁸⁶ Some of the prominent correspondents in Ladysmith included Bennet Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*, George Steevens of the *Daily Mail*, Henry Nevinson and Hugh Pearse of the *Daily News*. Whilst some, like Burleigh, managed to escape, others remained trapped in Ladysmith during the siege. Steevens never left – he died there, having contracted enteric fever.

³⁸⁷ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 9 December, 1899, p. 8.

³⁸⁸ Handwritten manuscript in the RPS Collection. This was written in 1912. Prior had died two years earlier. Nicholls may have already met Prior in Chile. The two men had certainly met in 1896 when Prior had his portrait taken at the Goch Studio.

dropping'.³⁸⁹ However, while there was keen professional rivalry between the special correspondents there was also a great sense of camaraderie and Nicholls would undoubtedly have picked up much useful practical advice simply from being in close proximity to so many experienced correspondents.³⁹⁰

As well as Prior and Bull, the other photographer-correspondent present in Ladysmith with Nicholls was George Lynch.³⁹¹ Lynch, like Prior, worked for *The Illustrated London News*. Nicholls does not mention Lynch in any of his letters, but an examination of the enlarged and heavily-retouched photographs taken by Lynch which appeared in *The Illustrated London News* reveals that both men photographed many of the same subjects, including the entry of General Yule's column into Ladysmith and the military observation balloon.³⁹² Lynch's report of photographing under fire also shares many similarities with Nicholls' account:

I wanted to get some photos of the artillery in action, and went up cautiously, stooping down across the open space and lying behind a stone when the bullets were busy... Reaching the guns at last, there was no lack of good subjects for snap-shooting. To make the R.A. more picturesque, of course, they should use the old black powder, not the smoke-less cordite, but, fortunately for my purpose, the mountain battery were using the old stuff.³⁹³

After leaving Ladysmith, Nicholls' urgent priority was to develop his negatives and print a set of photographs to send to the offices of *South Africa* in London.

³⁸⁹ Some idea of Nicholls' comparative status and 'visibility' at this time might be gleaned from the fact that in his autobiography, published posthumously in 1912, Melton Prior mentions most of the other correspondents who were in Ladysmith with him, including Bull, Burleigh, James, Lynch, Nevison, Pearce and Steevens, several times. Nicholls', however, does not get a mention. Melton Prior, S. L. Bensusan (ed), *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*, London: Edward Arnold, 1912.

³⁹⁰ Many of the correspondents, including Nicholls, stayed at the Royal Hotel. It was from the first-floor balcony of this hotel that Nicholls took his photograph of British troops returning after the action at Nicholson's Nek.

³⁹¹ A near contemporary of Nicholls', Lynch had previously covered the Spanish-American War for *The Daily Chronicle*. He was besieged in Ladysmith and captured by the Boers when trying to escape. See George Lynch, *Impressions of a War Correspondent*, London: George Newnes, 1903. Also, 'Some Prominent War Correspondents', *The English Illustrated Magazine*, January 1900, p. 389.

³⁹² See *Supplement to The Illustrated London News*, 25 November, 1899, p. 11 and *The Illustrated London News*, 2 December, 1899, p. 788

³⁹³ *The Illustrated London News*, 2 December, 1899, p. 788.

Competition between publications was intense, with rival magazines vying to be the first to publish reports and pictures of events in the war. As John Black Atkins, war correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, observed:

To-day the newspaper reader is spoiled; he sits at his breakfast table as it were in a stall at the theatre and sees the military drama trip before his eyes. A century ago the fastest ship would have brought him news of a battle weeks after it had been fought. Delay was ever a great spoiler of the dramatic elements; and the man who consents to no delay to-day has not evaded the tribute of morbid agitation which his advantages exact from him.³⁹⁴

A couple of days after leaving Ladysmith, Nicholls sent a telegram to Edward Mathers in Durban, informing him that he had managed to avoid being besieged and had already posted some photographs to London. Mathers replied on 4 November: 'I shall send a post wire telling my people to make good use of the photos'.³⁹⁵ The editorial office of *South Africa* did indeed make good use of Nicholls' photographs, reproducing several of them in their issue of 2 December.³⁹⁶ This time delay is significant. While written reports telegraphed from South Africa appeared in the British press within a couple of days, it was several weeks before photographs of the same events, which had to be sent back by ship, were reproduced in the illustrated weeklies.³⁹⁷ As *The Illustrated London News* noted:

Sketches and photographs from South Africa, now arriving in profusion, help those who live at home at ease to picture scenes of which the cable or the news-letter has already made them aware.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁴ J. B. Atkins, 'The Work and future of War Correspondents', *The Monthly Review*, September 1901, p. 82.

³⁹⁵ Letter in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.8.

³⁹⁶ See *South Africa*, 2 December, 1899, pp. 631, 632, 635, 636, 677, 679, 680. Nicholls' first photograph for *South Africa*, appeared in the 18 November issue (p. 450). This was a portrait of Colonel Scott Chisholme which Nicholls had taken on about 9 October. Given the delay before publication, Nicholls must have sent a selection of his photographs taken in Dundee and Maritzburg to the London offices of *South Africa* immediately after being made one of their correspondents. Nicholls may well have shown these photographs to Edward Mathers as examples of his work when they met on 23 October.

³⁹⁷ The voyage from South Africa took between two and three weeks.

³⁹⁸ 'Our South African Illustrations', *The Illustrated London News*, 31 March, 1900, p. 432. This time delay also meant that there was little or no relationship between text and image. Whilst illustrated magazines printed written reports of the events of the previous week, these were published alongside photographs of events that

Nicholls' images should therefore not be regarded as 'news photographs', but rather as 'visual realizations of previous but familiar news'.³⁹⁹ While embracing the ephemeral short-term commercial opportunities offered by the illustrated press, Nicholls recognised that his photographs also had a longer-term potential value as 'historic pictures' and 'a fitting memento of Britain's latest and greatest war'.⁴⁰⁰

In the short-term, as well as supplying images to the British press, Nicholls also tapped into a local demand for photographs of the war. On 8 November the *Natal Mercury* reported that:

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of Johannesburg, who was in the thick of the fighting on Monday week, has completed a series of 14 scenes of the bombardment of Ladysmith, which he advertises for sale. The views which are excellent in themselves have been taken at close quarters – in one case eight paces from the subjects – the artist being himself occasionally under fire, and the result is a realistic panorama of war that brings its grim features powerfully home.⁴⁰¹

South Africa magazine boasted that their correspondents took photographs 'specially for reproduction in this Journal'.⁴⁰² Despite this claim, however, they did not have exclusive use Nicholls' photographs. Nicholls, like all his fellow photographers, also supplied images to several other magazines, including *Black and White Budget*, *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated London News*, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*

had occurred several weeks earlier. On 18 November, for example, *South Africa* published an account of the attack on an armoured train near Estcourt, which had taken place three days earlier, alongside photographs taken by Nicholls in Johannesburg in September. By the time that Nicholls' photographs of the armoured train were published on 16 December, written reports were concentrating on the build-up to the Battle of Colenso.

³⁹⁹Peter Harrington, 'Pictorial Journalism and the Boer War: The London Illustrated Weeklies' in John Gooch (ed.), *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image*, London: Frank Cass, 2000, p. 224.

⁴⁰⁰ See Nicholls' catalogues for *A Series of Historic Pictures* and *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*.

⁴⁰¹ 'Photos of the Fight', *The Natal Mercury*, 8 November, 1899. In this 'advertorial' copy one can clearly detect the voice of Nicholls himself and his gift for self-promotion. It manages to introduce the two elements that Nicholls stressed regarding his war photographs – artistry and realism. The 14 photographs comprised all of those which were subsequently published in *South Africa*. A complete set cost 35 shillings and could be ordered from booksellers and chemists in Durban and Maritzburg. For a list of the photographs included in the set, see advertisement in the *Durban Mercury*, November, 1899. Photographs ordered would be printed by Nicholls and delivered by post 'in about eight or ten days'.

⁴⁰² 'Our Correspondents at the Front', *South Africa*, 6 January, 1900, p. 39. Photographers whose war work was reproduced in the magazine included, amongst others, John Middlebrook, Davies Brothers, David Barnett, Duffus Brothers, Charles Sydney Goldmann and W. B. Sherwood.

and *The Sketch*.⁴⁰³ On 2 December 1899, for example, Nicholls' photograph of the observation balloon at Ladysmith was reproduced in *South Africa*. That day, the same photograph was also reproduced in *The Graphic*; one week later it was also reproduced in *Black and White Budget*.⁴⁰⁴

Nicholls' also contributed photographs to American magazines. Three weeks after it had appeared in *South Africa*, his photograph of the observation balloon at Ladysmith was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*.⁴⁰⁵ Photographs by Nicholls first appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on 16 December and he contributed several photographs to the magazine over the next few months.⁴⁰⁶ Nicholls' work also appeared in a rival American publication, *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*.⁴⁰⁷

Even though he was not listed as one of its correspondents, Nicholls' photographs appeared most frequently in *Black and White* magazine and its sister publication *Black and White Budget*.⁴⁰⁸ Nicholls' connection with *Black and White* probably stemmed from his friendship with its chief photographic correspondent, René Bull. Nicholls had first met Bull in Ladysmith. Bull, like Nicholls, had managed to flee Ladysmith just before it was besieged. Subsequently, the two men found themselves often photographing the same events. At Estcourt on 15 November 1899, Nicholls photographed men of the Dublin Fusiliers climbing on board an armoured train.⁴⁰⁹ On

⁴⁰³ For examples, see, *The Illustrated London News*, 16 December, 1899, p. 871, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 27 January, 1900, p. 826, *The Sketch*, 15 November, 1899, Supplement, p. 6.

⁴⁰⁴ See *South Africa*, 2 December, 1899, p. 631, *The Graphic*, 2 December, 1899, p. 758, and *Black and White Budget*, 9 December, 1899, p. 14.

⁴⁰⁵ *Harper's Weekly*, 23 December, 1899, p. 1295.

⁴⁰⁶ *Harper's Weekly*, 16 December, 1899, pp. 6-7. 'Mr. Horace W. Nicholls...had been a photographer for a number of years in Johannesburg, and when the war broke out he took his camera and other photographic materials and joined General Buller's army in Natal. Many of the photographs from South Africa that have appeared in Harpers Weekly have been received from Mr. Nicholls', *Harper's Weekly*, 28 April, 1900, p. 398. For further examples, see also 16 December (pp. 6-7), 23 December (pp. 1318-1319), 13 January (p. 29), 20 January (p. 54), 17 February (p. 147), 24 February (p. 170), 17 March (p. 241) and 28 April (p. 384). On 28 April, the magazine reproduced René Bull's portrait of Nicholls, taken at Estcourt – p. 398.

⁴⁰⁷ On 30 December 1899, *Leslie's* reproduced Nicholls' photograph of a Boer commando leaving Johannesburg for the front. Despite the fact that this photograph was captioned, 'Photographed specially for "Leslie's Weekly" by Horace W. Nicholls', that same day it was also published in *Harper's Weekly*. See *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, 30 December, 1899, p. 530 and *Harper's Weekly*, 30 December, 1899, p. 1318.

⁴⁰⁸ *Black and White* relied heavily on photographs for illustration, claiming that 'Photographs of the actual fighting will be the main feature provided' – *Black and White Budget, Transvaal Special: No. 2*, 21 October, 1899, p. 2. The magazine's special photographic correspondents were listed as being David Barnett, J. Angus Hamilton and René Bull.

⁴⁰⁹ The train was ambushed later that day and many of its passengers killed or captured by the Boers. Among those taken prisoner was a young Winston Churchill.

the extreme left of this photograph a man holding a hand camera can be seen. This man is René Bull.⁴¹⁰ (Figure 3.1)

A few minutes later, Bull reciprocated the gesture by taking a portrait of Nicholls, standing next to one of the train's armoured carriages.⁴¹¹ This portrait was later used extensively by Nicholls in promotional material for his lecture tour, *Fresh from the Front*, although Bull is not credited as being the photographer.⁴¹² (Figures 3.2 and 3.3)

Nicholls' acquaintance with Bull would certainly have strengthened his association with *Black and White*. However, Nicholls' photographs had first appeared in the magazine before Bull could have influenced the matter.⁴¹³ On 21 October, 1899, *Black and White Budget* reproduced Nicholls' 'before and after' photographs of Pritchard Street, showing the effect of imminent war on business in Johannesburg. These photographs are not credited to Nicholls and it is possible that they have simply been copied from *The Graphic* where they had been published two weeks earlier.⁴¹⁴ Many illustrations in the early numbers of *Black and White Budget* are not credited and are poorly reproduced, which suggests the possibility of some degree of plagiarism.⁴¹⁵ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the next photographs by Nicholls to appear in the magazine are not only uncredited but have also been retouched to remove Nicholls' name.⁴¹⁶ René Bull's first contribution to *Black and*

⁴¹⁰ See *South Africa*, 16 December, 1899, p. 813 and *Black and White Budget*, 30 December, 1899, p. 25. For the photograph that Bull took, see *Black and White Budget*, 16 December, 1899, p. 20. Another photograph taken by Nicholls at the same time also shows Bull, this time talking to another correspondent who had also been in Ladysmith with Nicholls – Bennet Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*. See, *South Africa*, 16 December, 1899, p. 815 and *Black and White Budget*, 30 December, 1899, p. 14.

⁴¹¹ See *South Africa*, 30 December, 1899, p. 977.

⁴¹² RPS Collection – 2003-5001_0002_27799. See, *South Africa*, 30 December, 1899, p. 977. It is possible that at the same time, Nicholls took a portrait of Bull standing next to an armoured train that was later reproduced in *Black and White Budget*. See *Black and White Budget*, 13 January, 1900, p. 5.

⁴¹³ The first photographs by Nicholls appeared in *Black and White Budget* at about the same time that Bull arrived in Ladysmith, Bull could not therefore have initiated Nicholls' first contact with the magazine. René Bull sailed to South Africa on board the *Tintagel Castle* which arrived in Cape Town on 16 October, 1899. The rail journey to Ladysmith would have taken him at least another couple of days. The first photographs by Nicholls appeared in *Black and White Budget* on 21 October, p. 9.

⁴¹⁴ See, 'The Transvaal Crisis: The Effect of the War Scare on Johannesburg', *The Graphic*, 7 October, 1899, pp. 478-479.

⁴¹⁵ Ryno Greenwall believes this to be the case. See Greenwall, *Artists and Illustrators of the Anglo-Boer War*, p. 58.

⁴¹⁶ This is Nicholls' 2-part panoramic photograph of the Imperial Light Horse at Maritzburg – RPS 2003-5001_0002_26427 and 2003-5001_0002_26427_1. See, *Black and White Budget*, 18 November, 1899, p. 12.

White Budget appeared in the 18 November issue.⁴¹⁷ After this issue, images by both Bull and Nicholls appear frequently. With a very few exceptions, however, hardly any of Nicholls' photographs are credited.⁴¹⁸

After leaving Ladysmith, Nicholls travelled through Natal, via Estcourt and Pietermaritzburg, to Durban, where he photographed Boer prisoners of war. While in Durban he also photographed the soldiers of Bethune's Mounted Infantry. This regiment had a personal link with Nicholls since one of his brothers, Herbert, had enlisted with them a few weeks earlier.⁴¹⁹ From Durban, Nicholls travelled to Queenstown, before moving on to East London and, finally, Cape Town. At no point during this time was Nicholls anywhere near the front line, and he contented himself with photographing troops disembarking, hospital ships, scenes in camps and Boer prisoners of war.

As well as these subjects, taken well away from the scene of any fighting, Nicholls' catalogue of his war photographs, *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*, lists another series of photographs taken in Cape Town, recording the arrival of General Buller.⁴²⁰ General Buller landed in Cape Town on the *SS Dunottar Castle* on 31 October, 1899. On this date, however, Nicholls was hundreds of miles away, in Pietermaritzburg, and could not have taken these photographs. In fact, they were taken by a local photographer, Alf Hosking, who worked at Bruton's Studio in Cape

This photograph was also reproduced in *The Graphic* on the same date – p. 693.

⁴¹⁷ This is a drawing showing the scene on board the Tintagel Castle on 14 October when news was received that war had been declared. *Black and White Budget*, 18 November, 1899, p. 31.

⁴¹⁸ The 30 December issue, for example, contains eight photographs by Nicholls. Only one of these, a double-page spread captioned *After the Day's Work* (RPS 2003-5001_0002_26383) is credited to Nicholls.

⁴¹⁹ Herbert Nicholls had enlisted with Bethune's Mounted Infantry on 19 October, 1899. See National Archives WO 126/3, War Office: Local Armed Forces, Enrolment Forms, South African War. See also, National Archives COPY 1/448/63.

⁴²⁰ See *Struggle for Supremacy*, catalogue numbers 251-258. Nicholls sold these photographs. He also showed them as part of his lantern lecture, *Fresh from the Front*.

Town.⁴²¹ I have been unable to find any acknowledgement or credit by Nicholls relating to his subsequent commercial use of Hosking's photographs.⁴²² (Figure 3.4)

In East London Nicholls was reunited with Florence and his children. Shortly afterwards, the family left South Africa, arriving back in Britain on 30 December 1899.⁴²³

It is unclear why Nicholls decided to leave South Africa just at the time when the war was increasing in intensity and there would have been 'endless food' for his camera. According to *The Windsor Chronicle*, 'finding that the war was likely to continue some time, he decided to bring his wife and family home to England for the time being'.⁴²⁴ Nicholls would naturally have been concerned about his family. However, safely ensconced in Cape Colony they were well away from any fighting. Given his keen business sense, it is more likely that Nicholls came to Britain to exploit the commercial potential of his photographs while the war dominated the public's interest.

Nicholls' stay in Britain almost certainly lasted longer than he originally intended. In early February 1900, *South Africa* reported that Nicholls was 'making a flying visit to England'.⁴²⁵ This 'flying visit', however, ended up lasting over five months, during which time Nicholls undertook an extensive nationwide lecture tour. This was not what he had planned to do when he left South Africa. Nicholls was being truthful when he later remarked: 'If I had been told...six months ago that I should have been lecturing now in England, I should never have believed it'.⁴²⁶

⁴²¹ See RPS Collection 2003-5001_0002_27580, 27623 and 27632. Very little is known about Alf Hosking. He is mentioned on the Photographers of the C19th Century in South Africa website - <http://www.ancestors.co.za/photographers-of-the-19th-century-in-south-africa> and also by N. Cowan, 'Photographs: Their History and their Place in South African History', in Anna H. Smith (ed) *Africana Byways*, Johannesburg: AD. Donker, 1976, p. 21. Some photographs of scenes at military hospitals during the South African War, taken by Hosking, are in a photograph album held by the Wellcome Library – Acc. No, L0034439 - Album of photographs of Constance Louisa Agg, nurse at No.2 General Hospital and on hospital trains in South Africa during the Boer War. Hosking contributed the occasional photograph to *Black and White Budget*, see 22 September, 1900, p. 782.

⁴²² They are clearly annotated on prints in the RPS Collection as having been taken by Hosking.

⁴²³ They sailed on board the *SS Briton*. Their fellow passengers included 90 wounded soldiers and Major-General Yule, whose troops' epic march from Dundee to Ladysmith Nicholls had photographed a couple of months earlier.

⁴²⁴ *Windsor Chronicle*, 25 March, 1900.

⁴²⁵ *South Africa*, 3 February, 1900.

⁴²⁶ *Swindon Advertiser*, 13 March, 1900.

One of the first things Nicholls did after arriving in Britain was to contact the London office of York & Son, photographic publishers and lantern slide makers. Nicholls had already had business dealings with this firm; in 1896 they had bought the reproduction rights to 60 of Nicholls' photographs that they subsequently published as a lantern slide set entitled *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.⁴²⁷ Nicholls' timing seemed perfect; As G. R. Baker, a columnist in *The British Journal of Photography* observed:

The demand for slides connected with the war in South Africa is growing apace. My advice to those who have pictures applicable to lectures on the war is, publish them, for the martial spirit of the country is aroused and everywhere patriotism is rampant.⁴²⁸

York & Sons would certainly have been interested in acquiring photographs of the war. In 1900, they published a series of six lantern slide sets entitled *Transvaal in War*.⁴²⁹ None of these sets, however, included photographs by Nicholls. On 10 January, Frederick York, wrote to Nicholls:

It has occurred to me that it would be more profitable for you to utilize your war pictures by undertaking a lecturing tour. The fact of your having been at the seat of the War and the photos taken by yourself under most parlous circumstances merits talks. Some of the war correspondents of the illustrated papers did this with the Soudan War and with great success. You would have to put yourself in the hands of an agent to arrange the matter for you.⁴³⁰

Frederick York was, of course, concerned primarily with his own business's profitability, rather than maximising Nicholls' income. While Nicholls' timing might have been right, the price he was asking for his photographs was not. Frederick York attached a memorandum to his letter:

⁴²⁷ See Chapter Two

⁴²⁸ *The British Journal of Photography, Supplement*, 1 December, 1899, p. 90.

⁴²⁹ For details of these slide sets, see *Lucerna: The Magic Lantern Web Resource* - <https://www.slides.uni-trier.de/set/set-result.php> (accessed 18/08/2018)

⁴³⁰ Letter to Nicholls from Frederick York, 10 January, 1900. Scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p. 22.

Mr Nicholls of Johannesburg...has been photographing lots of war scenes and has a large collection which he wants us to publish. We could not pay his price. I recommended him to keep them for his own use and tour the country as a lecturer. Please ask Mr. Hepworth for his opinion and who is a good agent to organise such a tour.⁴³¹

Hepworth wrote on the bottom of the memorandum, which was then forwarded to Nicholls: 'Gerald Christie (sic), The Lecture Agency, Outer Temple, Fleet St'. Rather than contacting other lantern slide publishers to try and sell his war photographs, Nicholls decided to follow up York and Hepworth's suggestions. Gerald Christy was regarded as the doyen of lecture agents. The list of speakers he represented read like *Who's Who* of the literary world, including luminaries such as Jerome K. Jerome, Thomas Hardy and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.⁴³² Christy must have been convinced of the quality of Nicholls' photographs and the public's appetite for lantern lectures about the war since he agreed to represent him and organise his lecture tour even though Nicholls had no experience of public speaking. Moreover, Nicholls was proposing to try his luck in what was becoming a very competitive field. Frederick York was correct when he told Nicholls that some war correspondents had already undertaken lecture tours, with great success. In 1883, Melton Prior had given a lantern lecture on the Egyptian campaign to an audience at the Savage Club which included the Prince of Wales.⁴³³ Frederic Villiers, too, was a renowned public speaker whose lectures attracted large audiences.⁴³⁴ Most recently, and more pertinently, in 1899 René Bull had undertaken an extensive and very successful lantern lecture tour, using photographs of the campaign in the Sudan he had taken as a special

⁴³¹ Ibid. Mr. Hepworth was Thomas Cradock Hepworth, a professional lecturer and prolific author on magic lantern-related topics. He was the father of pioneer filmmaker Cecil Hepworth. See, David Henry, 'York & Son, Part One', *The New Magic Lantern Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, February, 1984, p. 17.

⁴³² Christy claimed that he never put a lecturer on his list until he had heard them speak himself. As someone without any previous lecturing experience, Nicholls must have been extremely persuasive in order to convince Christy to arrange his lecture tour. See Eric Hosking, *An Eye for a Bird: The autobiography of a bird photographer*, New York: Eriksson, 1973, pp. 77-79. Christy represented Hosking.

⁴³³ For an illustration of Prior delivering this lecture, see *The Illustrated London News*, 2 March, 1883, p. 220.

⁴³⁴ The 1893 diary of an undertaker's labourer from Bristol provides a rare contemporary account of attending one of Villiers' lectures: 'A big sheet was up on the platform, the gas was turned out, and Mr. Villiers came forward...then the lantern goes to work with views...All the time, Mr. Villiers explained his thrilling doings and adventures in the campaigns he showed', W. H. Bow, *The Diary of a Bristolian, 1893*, Bristol: Engart Press, 1986, pp. 153-155. Gerald Christy also represented Frederic Villiers.

correspondent for *Black and White*. In terms of scale, content and delivery, Bull's lecture tour can be viewed as a model for the approach that was to be adopted by Nicholls:

Recording, as it did, the grim realities of war, in a series of about 250 snap shots taken on the spot, Mr. Bull's lecture was intensely interesting. The conduct of war under modern conditions is one of those things in which a grain of photographic illustration is worth a bushel of letter-press description; and it is something to have the living incidents of war recorded – for the first time, as is here suggested - by the hand camera. In his lecture, Mr. Bull wisely relies more upon his pictures than upon his own verbal descriptions; but, short as they are, even his explanations of and commentaries on the series of illustrations which he projects upon the screen, are informative, and frequently not devoid of humour.⁴³⁵

While Nicholls was contemplating whether to become a public speaker, he had another job to do in London. On 11 January he went to Stationers' Hall to register 201 photographs he had taken in South Africa during the previous four months.⁴³⁶ These photographs were to form the basis of his lecture and the first section of his catalogue of photographs, *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*.⁴³⁷

Nicholls was well aware of the professional importance of patronage. He was extremely fortunate that, through serendipity, he was now able to secure the patronage of Lady White, the wife of General White, the commander of the British

⁴³⁵*The Scotsman*, 9 March, 1899, p. 6. Advertisements for Bull's lecture promised: 'The brilliant young war artist and correspondent to *Black and White* will describe his own illustrations of "War as it is". By means of Rene Bull's verbal pictures and instantaneous photographs, the audience is brought face to face with the actualities of warfare, shorn of all false romance and glamour'. *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 20 February, 1899, p. 2.

⁴³⁶ National Archives COPY 1/444/97 to COPY 1/444/297.

⁴³⁷Nicholls gives his address on the registration forms as 40 Friar Street, Reading. In 1897, Nicholls' father, Arthur, had moved from Sandown on the Isle of Wight and opened a portrait studio in the centre of Reading. Arthur Nicholls' first advertisements appear in May 1897. See *The Reading Mercury*, 29 May, 1897, p. 1. Arthur Nicholls describes himself as a portrait painter and photographer 'From Sandown, Isle of Wight'. Arthur Nicholls also registered some of his photographs for copyright from this address. His portraits of the evangelist 'Gipsy' Smith were registered on 16 February 1898 (National Archives COPY 1/434/719 -722) and advertised for sale at his studio later that month – see *The Reading Observer*, 26 February, 1898, p. 5. The reason for Arthur relocating to Reading is not known. It was, however, much more convenient for Horace since Florence's family, lived in Windsor, only 20 miles away.

forces besieged in Ladysmith, who Nicholls had met in October. Lady White (Amelia Baly) was the daughter of Archdeacon Joseph Baly, Chaplain of Windsor Great Park. A friend of Nicholls mentioned his war photographs to a fellow member of Windsor Constitutional Club, Martin Akerman, who was the organist at Windsor Park Chapel and a good friend of Archdeacon Baly. Akerman subsequently wrote to Nicholls:

Lady White is staying with her father and when I was at lunch on Sunday, I mentioned that you had arrived and he at once asked me if I thought you could manage to come up and see them and give them your impressions of George W and Ladysmith when you were there.⁴³⁸

Nicholls met with Lady White and showed her a selection of his photographs, securing her patronage.⁴³⁹ Somewhat disingenuously, Nicholls later claimed that he:

had no intention of lecturing on his photographs and experiences when he came to England but he made up his mind to do so on the suggestion of Lady White...⁴⁴⁰

Nicholls' first experience of public speaking was, in fact, the result of an invitation from Lady White. On 16 February, Nicholls spoke to an audience of 130 wives and mothers of soldiers at the front at an afternoon tea party held at the Ossington Coffee Tavern in Marylebone in aid of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association.⁴⁴¹ Taking place just a couple of weeks before his lecture tour began, this would have been a useful opportunity for Nicholls to practice in front of an audience.

⁴³⁸ Undated letter in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p. 24.

⁴³⁹ It is likely that Nicholls gave Lady White some of his photographs. Sir George White's papers, now held at the British Library, include an album containing photographs of Ladysmith taken by Nicholls – British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers, Papers of Sir George White, Mss Eur F108/74. Nicholls maintained his friendship with Lady White for the rest of her life. When she died in 1935, Nicholls attended her funeral – see *The Times*, 5 March, 1935, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁰ *Sunderland Daily Post*, 2 April, 1900. Nicholls' promotional literature for his lecture tour also stated 'The lecture is being given at the kind suggestion and under the patronage of Lady White, wife of General Sir George White, V.C.'

⁴⁴¹ As well as musical entertainment, the programme included a 'Special exhibition of views of Ladysmith by Mr. Nichols' (sic). Programme in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*. See also *The Herts Advertiser*, 24 February, 1900, p. 6.

Through the White family, Nicholls also managed to secure a degree of royal patronage. Lady White was a friend of Princess Christian.⁴⁴² She told the Princess about Nicholls' photographs and invited Nicholls to meet the Princess at the White family home in Englefield Green, near Windsor.⁴⁴³ While neither Prince nor Princess Christian, were subsequently able to attend Nicholls' lecture at the Royal Albert Institute, Windsor, on 1 March, they were 'pleased that it should be acknowledged as being under their patronage'.⁴⁴⁴

On 17 February, the first advertisement appeared for Nicholls' lecture tour.⁴⁴⁵ Entitled *Fresh from the Front*, the lecture was described as 'A descriptive lecture by Horace W. Nicholls (of Johannesburg) who has just returned from the front, illustrated by most interesting selections from a series of over 200 photographs taken by himself'. It is not known whether it was Nicholls himself who came up with this alliterative title but it succinctly combined the twin concepts of topicality and eye-witness description which were central to the lectures' popular appeal.⁴⁴⁶

Nicholls' gave the first lecture of his tour at Stevenage Public Hall on 27 February. Over the next six weeks he gave dozens of lectures at over 20 venues in towns and cities all over the country, sometimes delivering two lectures on the same day.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴² Princess Helena, the third daughter of Queen Victoria, had married Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein in 1866. The couple lived in Cumberland Lodge in Windsor Great Park.

⁴⁴³ Letter to Horace Nicholls, dated 14 January, in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p. 26. See also *South Africa*, 3 February, 1900: 'Her Royal Highness was greatly interested in the photographs, as also was Lady White, wife of Sir George White, who was present on the occasion'.

⁴⁴⁴ Letter in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p. 28.

⁴⁴⁵ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 17 February, 1900, p. 5. This advertisement was for the lectures to be given by Nicholls on the afternoon and evening of 1 March at The Royal Albert Institute in Windsor. Advertisements for Nicholls' lectures were placed in local newspapers in advance – usually about a week beforehand and also, occasionally, on the day of the lecture. For a typical example, see *The Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 30 March, 1900, p.1

⁴⁴⁶ The phrase 'Fresh from the Front' was already in popular usage. In 1898, for example, it was used in reference to Charles Williams, a war correspondent who had just returned from covering the Egyptian campaign – see, *The Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough*, 19 February, 1898, p. 2. At the time that Nicholls was probably considering what to call his lecture, *The West London Observer* reported that 'the Bioscope has a new series of war photographs fresh from the front' – *West London Observer*, 9 February, 1900, p. 6.

⁴⁴⁷ In *The Golden Summer*, pp. 122-123, Buckland gives an incomplete and slightly inaccurate list of Nicholls' speaking engagements. Places he spoke at include: Malton, Dundee, Newcastle, Sunderland, Cambridge, Bath, Torquay, Taunton, Swindon, Colwyn Bay, Conway, Tunbridge Wells, Windsor, Stevenage, Bristol, Halifax, Bradford, Hawick, London, Eton, Hastings and Tiverton.

A promotional flyer was produced which was overprinted with the name of each venue, the date and time of the lecture, the prices of the tickets and where tickets could be bought.⁴⁴⁸ The lectures were reported widely by local newspapers. The flyer included a synopsis of Nicholls' experiences and travels in South Africa. This also served as a press release and many reports simply re-purposed this text, sometimes verbatim. Amongst the dozens of reviews there are also, however, occasional snippets which give an insight into Nicholls' lecturing style, the content of his lectures, and the audiences' responses.

Topicality was a key factor. Nicholls had wasted little time in preparing his lectures, delivering the first less than two months after he had arrived back in Britain. He realised that the content of his lectures would not remain 'fresh' indefinitely. *The Sunderland Daily Echo* noted that:

He is the first to reach this country with a good illustrated account of the early bombardment of Ladysmith and the earlier episodes of the war.⁴⁴⁹

The *Bath Herald* thought that:

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls...is to be warmly congratulated upon his smartness in visiting hurriedly the various spots of interest at the front and then setting sail for this country...{he} has stolen a march upon the war artists and correspondents, which should bring him some sort of return for the misfortunes he has undergone as a result of the war.⁴⁵⁰

Each lecture lasted about 75 minutes, during which time Nicholls showed around 150 slides.⁴⁵¹ Projecting this large number of images left little time for flights of oratory.⁴⁵² This would, of course, have suited Nicholls, who did not have any previous

⁴⁴⁸ There are several examples in the scrapbook in the Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*.

⁴⁴⁹ *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 31 March, 1900, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ *The Bath Herald*, 14 March, 1900.

⁴⁵¹ The slide selection and order of presentation closely followed the sequence of photographs in the first section of Nicholls' catalogue, *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*.

⁴⁵² According to one contemporary authority this may have been too many: 'A common fault in many lectures is the exhibition of too many slides. When, for instance, nearly 150 views are shown in about 90 or 100

experience of public speaking. The *Kingston and Surbiton News* felt that: 'The pictures required little or no lecturing'.⁴⁵³ Indeed, Nicholls himself, in his introductory remarks, told the audience that:

He had so many photographs to show them, which spoke louder than words, that it would be unfair to take up their time with unnecessary talk.⁴⁵⁴

The *Windsor and Eton Express* thought that:

The term lecture...is somewhat a misnomer. It is a description of the pictures shewn, with incidents, some pathetic, some amusing, which came under his own observation, holding the attention and interest of the audience from start to finish.⁴⁵⁵

The *Torquay Times* reported that 'Mr. Nicholls makes no pretension to eloquence'. This was not intended as a criticism but, rather, a comment on Nicholls' informal, conversational style of delivery as he described each slide in what was described as 'a pleasing, chatty manner'.⁴⁵⁶ Although not scripted, the lecture was carefully structured and remained consistent at each venue. The reviews often attribute very similar quotes to Nicholls at different venues.⁴⁵⁷

The *Swindon Advertiser* published one of the most comprehensive reviews of one of his lectures, giving a detailed listing of the slides shown but also providing us with a glimpse of Nicholls himself:

The lecturer is a fair type of the Uitlander class, whose energy, pluck and ability have made the wealth and the prosperity of the Rand, and to save whom from a grinding and sordid tyranny the Queen's forces are now operating in South Africa. Tall, straight and soldier-like in

minutes...how is the audience to have time to examine each picture, and note the details of which the lecturer speaks? G. R. Bryce, 'Lantern Lectures', *The Optical Magic Lantern and Photographic Enlarger*, March, 1897, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁵³ *Kingston and Surbiton News*, 10 March, 1900.

⁴⁵⁴ *Western Daily Press*, 1 March, 1900.

⁴⁵⁵ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 3 March, 1900.

⁴⁵⁶ *Torquay Times*, 16 March, 1900, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁷ Nicholls' anecdote regarding a confused old man who, mistaking his train carriage for a hotel room, put his shoes out on the platform to be polished, appears in several reviews.

appearance, he is the last man one can imagine submitting with a good grace to being treated as a helot by men of an ignorant and inferior race.

Danger seems to have been no impediment to Mr. Nicholls in his search for suitable snap-shots, and many of his best pictures have been taken under circumstances in which he shared the risks and dangers of the troops. But like most brave men, Mr Nicholls is also modest, and listening to his story one would gather that it is the most natural thing in the world for a man to go about with no more formidable weapon than a camera, taking photographs amidst the roar of battle with shells exploding and bullets kicking up dust spots all around him.⁴⁵⁸

Despite claiming to introduce 'some of the grim features of modern warfare':

The gruesome side was not unduly enlarged upon, and in fact was as far as possible kept in the background, but now and then one caught sidelights of horror that seemed to bring home to one the awful nature of modern warfare.⁴⁵⁹

One of these 'sidelights of horror' was Nicholls' photograph entitled *Terrible effect of a shell*, described as 'one ghastly picture of a man with his leg blown off'.⁴⁶⁰ Rather than focussing on the horrors of war, however, the tone of the lecture was a combination of optimism, fortitude and patriotism:

When all the men were in khaki and all the bright things painted mud colour, the only brightness to be seen, said Mr Nicholls, was Tommy's cheerful face, and that was always bright.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸*Swindon Advertiser*, 13 March, 1900.

⁴⁵⁹*Thames Valley Times*, 23 March, 1900.

⁴⁶⁰*Cambridge Gazette*, 17 March, 1900.

⁴⁶¹*Cambridge Gazette*, 17 March, 1900.

Indeed, at times the atmosphere at the lectures seems to have been jingoistic rather than patriotic, with audiences cheering and hooting 'pictures of prominent persons in the war...according to merit'.⁴⁶²

The lecturer concluded by showing some splendid portraits of Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener...and others, all of which were received with loud cheers. The final picture shown upon the screen was that of Her Majesty the Queen, at the sight of which the large audience rose spontaneously and sang the National Anthem.⁴⁶³

Initially, Nicholls' lectures attracted large audiences, with reports of people being turned away at venues and extra lectures being arranged to meet demand. Gradually, however, audience numbers, while still good, began to decrease. The *Bradford Observer*, reporting on one of his last lectures, given at the beginning of April, reported:

There was not a large audience probably owing to the fact that interest in the pictorial representation of the campaign in South Africa is on the wane.⁴⁶⁴

This may well have been the perception. However, a more pertinent cause was the fact that Nicholls' lecture was no longer 'fresh'. The events he was illustrating and describing had taken place nearly six months earlier. With his prompt return to Britain, Nicholls had stolen a march on any potential competitors. However, it also meant that he had missed the chance to photograph any of the important subsequent incidents of the war. The events shown in Nicholls' lectures had begun to turn from topicality to memory:

Mr. Nicholls...presented many facts respecting the early stages of the war, which proved very interesting, and refreshed the memories of many of his hearers regarding the earlier events of the campaign.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶²*Tunbridge Wells Advertiser*, 16 March, 1900.

⁴⁶³*Swindon Advertiser*, 13 March, 1900.

⁴⁶⁴*Bradford Observer*, 5 April, 1900.

⁴⁶⁵*Torquay Times*, 16 March, 1900, p. 3.

Nicholls may have had a head start but his fellow correspondents were now beginning to catch up. The veteran special correspondent, Frederic Villiers, arrived in Plymouth from South Africa on 16 April. Villiers had already arranged a lecture tour and gave his first lecture in London only three days later. Villiers' lecture also had an alliterative title, *Kruger and Khaki*. More pertinently, his lectures were also advertised, now more accurately than Nicholls', as being 'Fresh from the Front':

Fresh from the Front! Frederic Villiers will lecture at St James's Hall, Thursday, April 19th at 8.30 on "Kruger and Khaki". Mr. Villiers witnessed the Relief of Kimberley, Surrender of Kronje, and taking of Bloemfontein. Illustrated by 150 slides.⁴⁶⁶

Nicholls' fellow correspondent at Ladysmith and Estcourt, René Bull, also returned from South Africa in April. After giving several lectures in Ireland (with yet another alliterative title, *Bull with Buller*), he began a lecture tour of England on 4 May at Manchester's Free Trade Hall. This lecture was 'illustrated by 200 limelight photographs, taken by himself, under fire on the battlefields' including the more recent Battles of Colenso and Spion Kop.⁴⁶⁷

Nicholls' lecture tour ended in April 1900.⁴⁶⁸ *Black and White Budget* were still publishing the occasional photograph taken by him but it was now clear to Nicholls that he needed some new photographs if he wanted to continue to profit from his photography.⁴⁶⁹ The obvious course of action was to return to South Africa.

⁴⁶⁶ *The Daily Telegraph*, 10 April, 1900, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁷ *Manchester Courier*, 27 April 1900, p. 1. Nicholls wrote to Bull in London after his return to arrange to see him again. Bull replied: 'I should be delighted to see you but Monday I am off to the North of England to give some lectures'. It is not known whether the meeting subsequently took place. Letter from Bull to Nicholls, dated 12 May, 1900, in Mallinson family archive.

⁴⁶⁸ In May, Lady White wrote to Nicholls: 'I am so very glad that your lecture tour has been such a success. I don't think it could have been anything else, your photographs are so very good, and so interesting'. Letter from Lady White to Nicholls, dated 8 May, in scrapbook in the Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*.

⁴⁶⁹ These were of subjects which were not time-sensitive. In May, for example, they published his photographs of Boer prisoners of war in Cape Town which he had taken the previous December. *Black and White Budget*, 12 May, 1900, p. 128. On 2 May, 1900, Nicholls photographed the inspection of the naval brigade from HMS *Powerful*, the 'Heroes of Ladysmith', by Queen Victoria in the Quadrangle of Windsor Castle. As far as I have been able to discover, none of these photographs were published. Nicholls did not register them for copyright but he did later include them in his catalogue *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900* – Catalogue Nos. 431-441, 'Heroes of Ladysmith visit their Queen'.

On 2 June, *South Africa* reported:

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls, whose excellent war photos taken in Natal have appeared from time to time in our pages, is returning to South Africa.⁴⁷⁰

That same day, Nicholls set sail from Southampton, leaving Florence and the children in Britain.⁴⁷¹

Nicholls arrived in Cape Town on 19 June.⁴⁷² He had brought with him a set of enlarged prints which he arranged to be displayed at a local bookshop:

There are on view at Messrs. Darter Brothers and Walton's store in Adderley Street, a series of beautiful war pictures. They are enlarged reproductions of photographs taken by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of Johannesburg in Natal during the war, and the best of them depict scenes in and about Ladysmith during the siege...The pictures will only remain on view today and tomorrow and orders will be taken for copies by Messrs. Darter.⁴⁷³

Before leaving Britain, Nicholls had also negotiated an arrangement with Marion and Co. to sell copies of his photographs:⁴⁷⁴

From Messrs. Marion we have received a set of prints from photographs by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of Johannesburg of "Battle Pictures". These prints are admirable, and long after this unhappy war shall be over will be of value to all who have been at the front or have had friends there.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰*South Africa*, 2 June, 1900.

⁴⁷¹ Nicholls sailed with his brother, Stanley, on board the *SS Briton*. This was the same ship that Horace had arrived on back in December. Stanley had returned for a brief visit to Britain in April.

⁴⁷²*Shields Daily Gazette and Shipping Telegraph*, 21 June, 1900, p. 4.

⁴⁷³*Cape Argus*, 22 June, 1900. Darter Bros and Walton's were long-established stationers and booksellers in Cape Town.

⁴⁷⁴Marion's were one of the largest and most important suppliers of photographic materials. The Nicholls family had a long-standing connection with the firm. In the 1870s they sold *carte-de-visite* mounts which had been designed and registered for copyright by Arthur Nicholls – see Chapter One. The details of the arrangement between Nicholls and Marion's are not known.

⁴⁷⁵*The Queen*, 28 July, 1900. Ten different prints were available, 'each being about 14 inches by 9 inches'. They were sold for 1 shilling, or coloured for 3 shillings. 'These fine works of art are well worthy the attention of our

In some respects, by the time Nicholls returned to South Africa the war was, to all intents and purposes, already over. As *South Africa* had reported in June: 'He intends to join Lord Robert's army in the Transvaal, but it is to be feared he will have little chance of taking any more war pictures'.⁴⁷⁶ Nicholls was too late. Lord Roberts had entered Pretoria, the Boer capital, on 5 June. After this date, no more significant battles took place. The war now entered its second phase – a period of guerrilla warfare where the British controlled the towns and railway lines and Boer commandos continued to fight on the veldt. Most of the major battles of the war had taken place between December 1899 and June 1900, when Nicholls had been in Britain. It is therefore inaccurate to claim, as does Buckland, that: 'His pictures of the Boer War are an outstanding record of nearly every stage of the conflict.' or, as Hopkinson writes, that he made 'a unique coverage of the South African War from 1899 to 1901'.⁴⁷⁷ In his catalogue of photographs, *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*, Nicholls himself made the somewhat exaggerated claim that his photographs illustrated 'the incidents of the South African Campaign, in the majority of its main features, from the beginning of the war up to its final stages'.

With no major engagements taking place following his return, Nicholls had to be content with travelling 'through the Transvaal 'while train wrecking and sniping were rife' to photograph the sites of earlier battles and the 'graves of fallen heroes'.

In Cape Town, Nicholls met up once again with Melton Prior. Prior had been besieged in Ladysmith but after its relief had joined Field Marshal Robert's forces as they captured Pretoria. Prior, who was preparing to sail back to Britain, endorsed one of his visiting cards for Nicholls: 'The bearer, Mr Horace W. Nicholls, is

retail readers'. See *Morris Trade Journal*, July, 1900. It is significant that even though the events photographed were still relatively recent, it is the mnemonic, artistic and historic qualities of Nicholls' photographs rather than their topical interest which is seen as their main selling point.

⁴⁷⁶*South Africa*, 2 June, 1900.

⁴⁷⁷ Beaton and Buckland, *The Magic Image*, p. 126. Hopkinson, *Treasures of The Royal Photographic Society*, p. 38. Rob Powell states that 'He extensively photographed the Boer War' (Powell, *Levels of Truth*, p. 642) but goes on to say 'Although I am not sure how useful it is to call Nicholls' Boer War photographs (as Gail Buckland has) "an outstanding record of nearly every stage of the conflict", they do, nevertheless cover a wide variety of subjects and serve to underline the camera's ready incursion, at this time, into ever-widening areas of reality'. (Ibid. p. 643).

representing the Illustrated London News, during my absence. Melton Prior. June 27.00'.⁴⁷⁸

Still optimistic about his prospects, Nicholls left Cape Town on 7 July, reaching Bloemfontein five days later. The following day he wrote to Florence:

I hope to find lots of subjects of interest yet. This morning I have been round town here and taken one or two of the public buildings which are now flying the Union Jack...I visited the cemetery during the morning. Here I found a very gruesome sight, rows upon rows of graves where our poor fellows lie buried...⁴⁷⁹

On 18 July, Nicholls arrived in Pretoria.⁴⁸⁰ The following day he took a selection of his photographs to the headquarters of the commanding officer, Lord Roberts, and requested permission to photograph the Field Marshal:⁴⁸¹

...the next day I was requested to call on the Field Marshal with my apparatus, which, of course, I did; was most cordially received by him, and was allowed to photograph him (1) by himself, (2) with his Indian servant, (3) and also with his two daughters, and I am glad to

⁴⁷⁸ Prior almost certainly did not have the power to authorise this representation which should have come from the magazine's editor. However, his status as one of the most celebrated war correspondents of the time would have given him considerable influence. Prior left Cape Town on 27 June and arrived in Southampton on 14 July. Nicholls still had his War Correspondents Licence issued on 29 October, 1899 but this association with Prior and the ILN would have been very helpful. On the travel pass issued in Cape Town on 7 July, giving him permission to proceed to Pretoria, Nicholls is described as representing the 'Illustrated News'. Letter in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*. As far as I am aware, Nicholls did not contribute any photographs to *The Illustrated London News* at this time.

⁴⁷⁹ Letter printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 18 August, 1900, p. 8. These are photographs Cat Nos. 267-273 in *Struggle for Supremacy*.

⁴⁸⁰ The train journey took him three days. Letter to Florence printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 25 August, 1900, p. 6. Nicholls' War Correspondents Licence was endorsed in Pretoria on 18 July by the press Censor, J. H. Ward: 'Mr. H. W. Nicholls has leave to accompany any force under Lord Roberts' command'. Licence in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p.6.

⁴⁸¹ This would not have been viewed by Roberts as an unreasonable request. Unlike some British generals, Roberts tried hard to maintain a good relationship with the press: 'Roberts lost no opportunity to have a photocall, be it his entering Kroonstad or crossing the Vaal. He also pandered to the press corps, which swarmed around his camp'. McCrachen, *Relationship between British War Correspondents and British Military Intelligence*, p. 109.

say I obtained some successful ones, but have not yet been able to get prints of them.⁴⁸² (Figures 3.5 and 3.6)

One week later, Nicholls reached Johannesburg. He hurried to his home in the suburb of Belgravia, where he 'was delighted to find that everything looked clean and much in the same order as I had left it'.⁴⁸³ The following day visited his studio in Pritchard Street, where he discovered a very different scene:

I entered through the back and found everything thickly covered with dust, and the reception room presented a scene of disorder; photographs had been pulled about all over the place, every drawer of the desk in my office broken open, and all the chloride of gold stolen from the drawers...altogether a scene of disorder and destruction.⁴⁸⁴

To his great relief, however, Nicholls found that 'all the negatives seem to be left intact which is a big item'.⁴⁸⁵ After spending a week in Johannesburg, Nicholls travelled through Natal, visiting Ladysmith and then the battlefields of Waggon Hill, Spion Kop, Pieters' Hill and Colenso before returning once more to Cape Town.

Florence naturally wanted to see her home once again, but Nicholls wanted the Transvaal to return to normality before bringing his family back to South Africa.⁴⁸⁶ Realising that at this time there was little more that he could usefully achieve in South Africa, Nicholls decided to return to Britain to realise the commercial potential of his recently taken photographs.

⁴⁸²Letter to Florence printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 8 September, 1900, p. 8. Cat Nos. 290-292. For reproductions, see *Black and White Budget*, 22 September, 1900, p. 1, *The Sphere*, 1 December, 1900, p. 261 and *The Graphic*, 20 October, 1900, p. 572. Underwood and Underwood published a stereoscopic card of Lord Roberts with his Indian duffadar, taken at the same location. There is an example in the National Portrait Gallery Collection (NPG x26385) which is attributed as 'possibly by Horace Walter Nicholls'. This must, however, have been taken by another photographer.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Letter from Nicholls to Florence, dated 9 August, 1900. Quoted in Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 123.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid. 'I feel more than sorry that I had to defer you from sailing, but under the circumstances it would be folly for you to arrive here at present'.

Nicholls arrived back in Britain on 7 September. On 25 September, he registered 144 of his photographs, taken during July and August, for copyright at Stationers' Hall.⁴⁸⁷ His return trip to South Africa had been undertaken primarily to add to his initial selection of war photographs: 'My idea in going to Natal is to add to my series...I have now about a hundred more...'⁴⁸⁸ Nicholls' copyright registration descriptions also include the catalogue number that was subsequently assigned to each photograph in his catalogue, *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*.⁴⁸⁹ Clearly, by the time he had returned to Britain, Nicholls' plan of creating what he was to describe as 'A series of over 400 first-class photographs of surpassing interest' was already well formed, with the catalogue numbers and grouping of photographs under various sub-headings already decided upon.

By the time he had visited Stationers' Hall, Nicholls had already renewed his links with *South Africa* magazine, visiting their editorial offices in London.⁴⁹⁰ He also contacted *Black and White Budget* who published several of his photographs over the next few weeks.⁴⁹¹ Over the next few months, Nicholls' recent photographs also appeared in *The Graphic*, *The Sphere* and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.⁴⁹²

Nicholls, however, had more ambitious ideas for profiting from his photographs than just supplying them to the illustrated press. As he had done with his earlier South

⁴⁸⁷ National Archives COPY 1/447/459 to COPY 1/447/602. These forms give Nicholls' address as 'The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg' rather than his father's address in Reading. Nicholls' brief visit to Johannesburg must have convinced him that his studio was in good enough condition for him to eventually return and renew his business. On 4 October, Nicholls registered a further 34 photographs – COPY 1/448/36 to COPY 1/448/69.

⁴⁸⁸ Letter from Nicholls to Florence, reprinted in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 8 September, 1900, p. 8. This figure of 'about a hundred more' coincides roughly with Cat Nos. 267-357 in *Struggle for Supremacy*.

⁴⁸⁹ For example, COPY 1/447/459 – 'Photograph The Presidency Bloemfontein No 267' relates to Catalogue No. 267 – 'Ex-President Steyn's Residence (used by Lord Roberts), flying the British flag'.

⁴⁹⁰ 'We have had the pleasure of a call this week from Mr. Horace W. Nicholls, the well-known photographer, who has just returned from the Cape'. *South Africa*, 22 September, 1900. It is unlikely that this was just a social call. Nicholls was probably trying to interest the magazine in his recent photographs.

⁴⁹¹ See, *Black and White Budget*, 22 September, 1900, p. 1, 29 September, pp. 814-815. 6 October, pp. 3, 14-17, 22-23, 13 October, pp. 47, 51, 20 October, pp. 80-81. *Black and White's* offices were in Bouverie Street, near Fleet Street, so Nicholls could have combined his visit with his trip to the nearby offices of *South Africa*.

⁴⁹² *The Graphic*, 29 September, 1900, p. 466, 6 October, pp. 501, 510, 20 October, pp. 572, 580. *The Sphere*, 1 December, 1900, p. 261. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* published 11 of Nicholls' photographs in a three-page spread entitled *In South Africa at the Close of the War*. Nicholls is described in the credit as 'Our Special Correspondent'. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* 29 September, 1900, pp. 162-164.

African images, he now sought to maximise his photographs' commercial potential through exploring a range of different applications.

Nicholls published a catalogue of over 400 of his photographs for sale, which he entitled *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*.⁴⁹³

It has been Mr. Nicholls' aim throughout to preserve the continuity of his series, so that it may present events in the order in which they have occurred, and the views, if arranged in the order of the catalogue, will be found to form a panorama of intense interest, introducing some of the grim features of a modern battlefield, and an album made up in this way should prove a fitting memento of Britain's latest and greatest war.⁴⁹⁴

Prints could be bought by placing a tick against the catalogue number of each photograph required on an order form at the back of the catalogue and posting it with a bank draft or postal order for the relevant amount. Single prints cost one shilling and there were discounts for multiple orders. A complete set of all the photographs in the catalogue cost £15.⁴⁹⁵

Before the end of the year, Nicholls had also published a selection of his photographs in a book entitled *Uitlanders and Colonists who fought for the Flag*.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ To create a more complete narrative of the war, Nicholls supplemented his photographs taken in South Africa between September and December 1899 and in June and July 1900 with some of his earlier photographs showing the sea journey to South Africa. He also included his photographs of the inspection of the Naval Brigade by the Queen in Windsor Castle and, although they are not credited or acknowledged, several photographs by Alf Hosking, taken at Cape Town. The cost of printing this catalogue was partly subsidised by the inclusion of an advertisement for Newman & Guardia on the back cover: 'The photographs in this catalogue were all taken with an N & G Camera which Mr. Nicholls has had in constant use in South Africa for nearly five years'.

⁴⁹⁴ *Struggle for Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1900*. The catalogue was optimistically described as illustrating the war 'up to its final stages'. In fact, the war did not end until June 1902.

⁴⁹⁵ There remained a market for these photographs for several years after the war had ended. The copy of the catalogue in The Royal Photographic Society Collection has Nicholls' Johannesburg address crossed out and his address in Ealing added by hand.

⁴⁹⁶ Horace W. Nicholls, *Uitlanders and Colonists who fought for the Flag, 1899-1900: A series of 110 first-class collotype photographs illustrating life with The Imperial Light Horse and other South Africa Volunteer Regiments*. Johannesburg: The Goch Studio, 1900. It was published in December 1900: See *Windsor and Eton Express*, 15 December, 1900, p. 8: 'Under the title of "Uitlanders and Colonists Who Fought for the Flag, 1899-1900", Mr. Nicholls has compiled and issued a handsome new war album...This beautiful album comprises a series of 110 first class Collotype photographs, illustrating life with the Imperial Light Horse and other South African Volunteer regiments...The whole are bound in a khaki coloured cover'.

This contained a series of individual and group portraits which Nicholls hoped would appeal primarily to the men depicted and their families and friends.⁴⁹⁷

I have selected...only those [photographs] which illustrate the movements of the different South African Volunteer Regiments I came in contact with during the war, feeling that it will meet with the approval of the relatives and friends of the men belonging to the Regiments represented as well as the Public generally who appreciate the valuable services rendered by these gallant Sons of the Empire.⁴⁹⁸

From his complete series of around 400, Nicholls also selected 24 photographs to sell as enlarged carbon prints.⁴⁹⁹ These were much more expensive than the half-plate (4 ¼" by 6 ½") contact prints offered in his full catalogue, costing one guinea (£1.1.0) compared with one shilling. These prints, intended to be displayed in frames rather than mounted in albums, first went on sale in December 1900:

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls...has on view and sale...a series of 24 sepia carbon pictures of the war at a moderate price...These sepia pictures are all from the original photographs by autotype process which bids defiance to time's effacing fingers, and as works of art they are a revelation in the artistic possibilities of the camera in the hands of one who is at once an expert photographer and an artist such as Mr. Nicholls undoubtedly is.⁵⁰⁰

In the catalogue for these prints, Nicholls flattered his potential customers, explaining that his photographs would 'appeal to the artistic sense of the most fastidious'.

Those who considered buying one of his photographs were also reassured that

⁴⁹⁷ An indication that this was the case is provided by Nicholls' description of his panoramic group photograph of The Imperial Light Horse – 'the face of every man can be clearly distinguished'.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Campaigning with a Camera', introduction to *Uitlanders and Colonists who fought for the Flag, 1899-1900*. Given its subject matter, the main market for book was in South Africa. There, it was sold through P. Davis & Sons of Pietermaritzburg and Durban, at a price of 10 shillings. Peter Davis was a publisher, printer and bookbinder and may have been involved in the production of the book. Davis also owned *The Natal Advertiser* newspaper which printed a glowing review of the book – 'Mr. Nicholls is to be congratulated on a really admirable production'.

⁴⁹⁹ Sizes varied but averaged around 18" by 12".

⁵⁰⁰ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 15 December, 1900, p. 8.

carbon prints represented 'permanent photography' which 'bids defiance to Time's effacing fingers':

In introducing this series of Carbons to the public, I should say that having so frequently heard the remark in criticism of the fine pictures (representing War Scenes) produced by our best artists, "Oh yes, it's a grand piece of work, but it is only the artist's imagination", I have made it my great aim throughout the Campaign to produce a series of large photographs which would appeal to the artistic sense of the most fastidious, knowing that they must as photographs have the enhanced value of being truthful.⁵⁰¹

In one sentence, Nicholls had claimed for his work both of photography's much debated and challenged qualities – that it is truthful, and that it is artistic.

For most contemporary commentators, the 'truthfulness' of photography was a truism. Artists, they felt, could never attain the same level of objective truth since: 'Try as he may...the man with the pencil thrusts his personality between the event he sees and the people at home for whom he wishes to reproduce it...'⁵⁰²

Frederic Villiers, who had experience of using both pencil and camera, took a more nuanced view:

...the public...are apt to look upon photos as above suspicion; in fact, as a colleague of mine once said – "You know the camera can never lie." After all, I think it depends on whether there is a liar at the back of the camera.⁵⁰³

The artistic quality of Nicholls' work was, of course, open to subjective interpretation. Nicholls' descriptive list of his carbon prints includes brief critical reviews of each photograph.⁵⁰⁴ That of *The Mounted Leicesters Reaching Ladysmith From Dundee*

⁵⁰¹ *Memorable Incidents and Striking Features of the South African Campaign: A Series of Historic Pictures Printed in Permanent Carbon, from Photographs taken at the Front, by Horace W. Nicholls.*

⁵⁰² H. C. Shelley, 'The War Artist of Today', *The British Journal of Photography*, 18 May, 1900, p. 310.

⁵⁰³ 'Faking Boer War Pictures: Frederick Villiers Discloses Some Secrets', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 21 April, 1900, p.2.

⁵⁰⁴ Unfortunately, Nicholls does not give the sources of these quotes.

enthuses that it ‘...may be characterised to rank among the great military and historical pictures of our time’. The same photograph was also singled out for praise by *The Cape Argus*: ‘The pictures of Yule’s Column on its way to Ladysmith from Dundee are worthy of Lady Butler or Caton Woodville’.⁵⁰⁵ The comparison with the paintings of Lady Butler is significant since Nicholls clearly admired her work. In Nicholls’ photograph of his reception room at the Goch Studio, one of the framed pictures hanging on the wall is a print of one of Lady Butler’s best-known paintings, *The Roll Call*.⁵⁰⁶ When one looks at Nicholls’ photograph of the weary men of Yule’s column, some of them asleep in their saddles, one can clearly detect an echo of Lady Butler’s paintings such as *The Remnants of an Army* or *Halt on a forced march: Peninsular War*.⁵⁰⁷ (Figures 3.7 and 3.8)

The dominant movement in art photography at the beginning of the twentieth century was Pictorialism.⁵⁰⁸ In his photography, Nicholls embraced the pictorial aesthetic in the established sense that it had been understood since the 1860s – looking like a picture, to put it at its most simplistic. In 1869, Henry Peach Robinson had described the nature of the pictorial in photography.⁵⁰⁹ Pictorial effect was achieved by making photographs look picturesque, combined with introducing an element of narrative. In order to achieve this, a photographer needed to be aware of and sympathetic to the forms and styles of academic painting.

In the absence of contemporary reviews of Nicholls’ war photographs in the photographic press, it is interesting to consider the critical response to a photographer with whom he had much in common, David Barnett. Barnett was also an Uitlander, he also had a photographic studio in Johannesburg and, following the outbreak of war, he also left his studio and became a photographic correspondent for *Black and White*.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁵ *The Cape Argus*, 22 June, 1900.

⁵⁰⁶ RPS Collection. Nicholls Neg No. 1492.

⁵⁰⁷ See Paul Usherwood and Jenny Spencer-Smith, *Lady Butler: Battle Artist, 1846-1933*, Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1987.

⁵⁰⁸ For an excellent introduction to the movement, see John Taylor, ‘Pictorialism’ in John Hannavy (ed), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 1126-1131.

⁵⁰⁹ Henry Peach Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography*, London: Piper and Carter, 1869.

⁵¹⁰ Nicholls must have known David Barnett personally but there is no evidence of any communication between the two men.

In its survey of war correspondents, entitled *Photographers at the Front*, *Photography* magazine thought that:

Pictorially considered, none of the war pictures that we have seen will compare with those of Mr. D. Barnett...He has carried a whole-plate camera through the Battle of Colenso, and his photographs could hardly be better had they been taken under the less exciting conditions of a society outing, rather than amid the whistling of shrapnel.⁵¹¹

One of the photographs used to illustrate this article was David Barnett's *Hill-climbing with a Maxim Gun at Maritzburg*. (Figure 3.9) This photograph was also singled out for praise by *The Amateur Photographer*:

The war pictures that take the most prominent position for their fine quality are those taken by Mr. D. Barnett of Johannesburg. His "Naval Guns at Colenso", "Hill Climbing with a Maxim Gun at Maritzburg" and "Storming a Kopje" are simply splendid. Action is portrayed here by the camera that once and for all stamps it as the perfect instrument in the hands of the artist.⁵¹²

Hill-climbing with a Maxim Gun at Maritzburg was reproduced in *Black and White Budget* for 13 January, 1900. This same issue also contains a photograph taken by Nicholls showing Boer prisoners of war at Durban.⁵¹³ Nicholls certainly saw Barnett's photograph since he had a copy of this magazine.⁵¹⁴ While not implying that Nicholls directly plagiarised Barnett's work, the pictorial composition and the narrative exposition of *Hill-climbing with a Maxim Gun at Maritzburg* clearly resonates with one of Nicholls' most critically acclaimed photographs, *All Together Boys*, suggesting that they share a common pictorial aesthetic.⁵¹⁵ (Fig.3.10)

⁵¹¹ 'Photographers at the Front', *Photography*, 8 February, 1900, p. 94.

⁵¹² *The Amateur Photographer*, 31 October, 1901.

⁵¹³ *Black and White Budget*, 13 January, 1900, p.23 and p.27.

⁵¹⁴ Nicholls cut the page containing his photograph out of the magazine and stuck it in his scrapbook. scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p. 64.

⁵¹⁵ RPS 2003-5001_0002_26377. In Nicholls' catalogue it is titled, ungrammatically, *Altogether Boys*. In 1973, The Royal Photographic Society selected *All Together Boys* as one of its ten 'outstanding' photographs, copies of which were sold for the benefit of The National Photographic Record Fund. *The Photographic Journal*, June,

Nicholls must have considered his first lecture tour to have been a financial success since he now planned a second series of lectures, this time with the rather more prosaic and less engaging title *My Second Visit to the Front*. By January 1901, the arrangements were well advanced. A promotional leaflet had been printed with a list of the subjects to be shown, and a date and venue for the first lecture had been confirmed, 6 February, 1901 at the Royal Albert Institute, Windsor.⁵¹⁶ In January, advertisements were placed in the local press:

Mr. Nicholls will exhibit a large number of his celebrated photographs, taken for the most part during a journey from England to Pretoria, shortly after the occupation of that town by the British Army under Lord Roberts. All the views will be shown for the first time in Windsor, and will be quite distinct from those exhibited at Mr. Nicholls' previous lecture.⁵¹⁷

An unforeseen event now intervened. On 22 January, 1901, Queen Victoria died and Britain was plunged into mourning. On 26 January a notice appeared in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, informing its readers: 'Mr. Horace Nicholls' lecture. In consequence of the death of Her late Majesty the Queen, this lecture, announced for February 6th, is postponed'.⁵¹⁸ Instead of preparing for his lectures, Nicholls found himself photographing scenes in Windsor during the Queen's funeral.⁵¹⁹ Nicholls' never gave his second series of lectures.

Since selling his photographs to the press was now an important, possible primary, source of his income, copyright protection was of crucial importance to Nicholls. Consequently, in May 1901, instead of a lecture hall, Nicholls found himself speaking in a court of law.

Photographic copyright in Britain was legislated under the terms of *The Fine Arts Copyright Act* of 1862. Works of art, including photographs, were only granted the

1973, p. 271.

⁵¹⁶ Leaflet in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive, *Documents letters etc chiefly in connection with the Boer War 1899-1902*, p. 96.

⁵¹⁷ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 12 January, 1901, p. 4.

⁵¹⁸ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 26 January, 1901, p. 4.

⁵¹⁹ One of these was reproduced in *The Sphere*, 9 February, 1901, p. ii.

protection of copyright law if they were entered in the registers at Stationers' Hall in London. To register a work, the artist had to complete a registration form and pay a fee of one shilling. At the time that the Act was passed, there was considerable debate as to whether photography should be included under its terms since it was 'not a fine art, but a mechanical process'. Roundell Palmer, the Solicitor-General who steered the bill through the House of Commons responded to these objections, arguing that while:

strictly and technically, a photograph was not in one sense to be treated as a work of fine art...persons had gone to foreign countries – to the Crimea, Syria and Egypt – for the purpose of obtaining a valuable series of photographs, and had thus entailed upon themselves a large expenditure of time, labour and money. Was it just that the moment they returned home other persons should be allowed, by obtaining negatives from their positives, to enrich themselves at their expense.⁵²⁰

Photography was duly included within the provisions of the Act but opponents of photography remained critical. As late as 1894, the artist, John Leighton, complained that because of the Act, 'a mechanical abortion got the same protection as a work of high art that may have taken years to consummate'.⁵²¹

Nicholls was well aware of the procedure for copyright registration. His father had first registered work at Stationers' Hall in 1865, just three years after the Act had been passed, and two years before Horace was born.⁵²² Nicholls first registered one of his photographs for copyright in August 1896. Since then, he had registered several hundred.

Since 1862, when the Act became law, there had been an enormous increase in the number of photographs reproduced in the press. The introduction of the half-tone process in the 1880s had revolutionised the printing industry. Photographs were now

⁵²⁰ *Hansard*, 3rd Ser., 165 (1862), pp. 1890-91. Palmer's reference to the Crimea probably relates to the photographs of the Crimean War taken by Roger Fenton. Forty years later, Nicholls, too, had entailed 'a large expenditure of time, labour and money' to secure pictures from the seat of war.

⁵²¹ John Leighton, letter to the *Standard*, quoted in *Photography*, 25 January, 1894, p. 59.

⁵²² National Archives, COPY 1/8/582.

reproduced in huge numbers, often without permission or payment. For many photographers, the illustrated press was nothing more than a bunch of 'pirates'. *The British Journal of Photography* claimed that the press treated photographs as 'common property' and that there was no desire to enforce photographic copyright.⁵²³ In this climate, a meeting of leading photographers was held which resulted in 1894 in the formation of The Photographic Copyright Union.⁵²⁴ The objective of the Union was:

To secure and protect photographic copyrights, to suppress piracies, and generally to promote the interests of the Profession.

By April 1894, the Union had about 800 members.⁵²⁵ It is not known when Nicholls joined the Union but he was certainly a member by 1899.⁵²⁶ In return for an annual subscription of 10s 6d, one of the key benefits that members enjoyed was support with legal cases concerning copyright infringement. The Union would act on behalf of the member in any litigation proceedings. If any financial penalties or damages were awarded, two-thirds of the amount would be retained by the member and one third would go to the Union.

In May 1901, with the support of The Photographic Copyright Union, Nicholls sued the publishers of *The Graphic* and its sister publication *The Golden Penny* for infringement of his copyright. Nicholls' case was that he had supplied *The Graphic* with a copy of his registered photograph, *Officers buying Shells as Curios from Kaffir Women*, for publication.⁵²⁷ In his deposition, Nicholls explained that 'In consequence of some difficulties which had occurred', he had adopted the policy of sending a written licence with his photographs, under the terms of which the purchaser could reproduce it in the named publication only, and not in any other publication which they owned.⁵²⁸ Nicholls' photograph duly appeared in *The Graphic* on 6 October,

⁵²³ 'Piracy', *The British Journal of Photography*, 20 October, 1893, p. 667.

⁵²⁴ 'A Photographers' Copyright Union', *The British Journal of Photography*, 12 January, 1894, p. 20.

⁵²⁵ 'The Photographic Copyright Union', *The British Journal of Photography*, 20 April, 1894, p. 241.

⁵²⁶ There is a booklet 'Rules of the Photographic Copyright Union', with amendments made in 1899, in a scrapbook of 'News Cuttings' compiled by Nicholls now in the RPS Collection.

⁵²⁷ National Archives, COPY 1/445/580, registered on 25 September, 1900.

⁵²⁸ For an account of the court proceedings, see *The Times Law Reports*, Vol. xvii, 1900-1901, pp. 482-483. It is not known whether these 'difficulties' related specifically to his dealings with *The Graphic* or with publishers in general. Nicholls had certainly had problems with the publishers of *Black and White* which frequently used his

1900.⁵²⁹ It was also published subsequently in *The Golden Penny*, but without Nicholls receiving additional payment. In their defence, the publishers claimed that they had simply not noticed the limitation in the licence and had published the photograph in good faith.

The judge found in Nicholls' favour. It was clear, he said, that the photograph had been published without the copyright owner's consent. Nicholls had not sued for damages but only for penalties. Following a recent legal precedent, the judge ruled that he had no option but to award the plaintiff penalties as laid down by the relevant section of the 1862 Copyright Act :

...even though he regretted the strictness of the law in a case such as the present, where no great harm was done, he could quite see that it would be greatly against public policy if people were allowed to evade the provisions of the Act.⁵³⁰

The judge imposed a penalty of the smallest coin of the realm, a farthing, for each copy of *The Golden Penny* printed which had contained Nicholls' photograph. Since 86,000 copies had been printed, this totalled £89 11s 6d, plus costs.⁵³¹ The following year, the proprietors of *The Graphic* appealed against this decision.⁵³² This appeal was discussed at the Photographic Copyright Union's annual general meeting held in October, 1901, which confirms that Nicholls had brought the case to court with the support of The Photographic Copyright Union.

photographs in its sister publication, *Black and White Budget*, without acknowledgement.

⁵²⁹ *The Graphic*, 6 October, 1900, p. 510.

⁵³⁰ *The Times Law Reports*, Vol. xvii, 1900-1901, p. 483.

⁵³¹ Of this amount, under the terms of his Photographic Copyright Union membership, Nicholls would have received roughly £60 and the Union £30.

⁵³² The appeal was heard on 20 March, 1902, when Nicholls was in Johannesburg. See, *The Times Law Reports*, Vol. xviii, 1901-1902, pp. 459-460. By this time, a subsequent case, *Hildesheimer v. W. and F. Faulkner Ltd.*, had set a precedent whereby the penalty for copyright infringement did not have to be 'a coin of the realm' but could be a lump sum which, when divided by the number of offences (in Nicholls' case, the number of magazines printed) could be 'less than the least recognized coin of the realm'. The appeal decision was 'to send the case back to the learned Judge to assess the penalties'. I have been unable to discover what the learned judge eventually decided and whether Nicholls subsequently had to pay back some of the money he had originally been awarded.

...one of the cases that was successfully carried out in court is going to be appealed against...We may say that this very case is for a member in a far distant colony.⁵³³

Nicholls' court case did not set any legal precedents. Indeed, the judge, whilst finding in Nicholls' favour felt constrained by the legal precedents he was bound by and considered that the publisher's offence did not warrant the harsh penalties awarded.

For his action, Nicholls has been considered a pioneer of the photographers' rights. It was one of the reasons why the *Picture Post* photographer, John Chillingworth, considered Nicholls to be a 20th Century Great since:

By suing an errant publisher for infringement of copyright, Nicholls did more to defend the rights of photographers in one action, than latter-day committees laboriously achieved in the 1980s.⁵³⁴

The reality was more prosaic and certainly less heroic. Nicholls' case was just one of a series of court cases during the 1890s which strengthened photographers' rights. As Elena Cooper has concluded in her recent, comprehensive study of the history of copyright protecting the visual arts:

...court rulings supporting the basic principle of a payment per reproduction, together with...the organisation of photographers through the Photographic Copyright Union, provided an important context for the establishment of a culture of routine payment of royalties by the illustrated press.⁵³⁵

Nicholls' motivation for suing *The Graphic* was almost certainly personal and financial rather than altruistic. Undoubtedly, however, it was among a series of judgements whose cumulative effect was, 'significant in helping to establish a

⁵³³ Annual Meeting of The Photographic Copyright Union. *The Photographic News*, 1 November, 1901, p. 719.

⁵³⁴ John Chillingworth, '20th Century Greats: Horace W. Nicholls 1867-1941', *The Master Photographer*, February, 1999, p. 22.

⁵³⁵ Elena Cooper, *Art and Modern Copyright: The Contested Image*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 101.

consensus among publishers that freelance photojournalists could not be exploited or their pictures pirated'.⁵³⁶

Immediately following the court case, Nicholls took his family to Sandown on the Isle of Wight for a holiday.⁵³⁷ The next month, Horace, Florence, George and Gertrude sailed for South Africa. The next few months were to be a very difficult time for the family. After struggling to obtain the necessary travel permit, Nicholls managed to reach Johannesburg on 21 July. He was alone; Florence was heavily pregnant, but Nicholls had no option but to leave her and the children in East London since Johannesburg was under martial law and very few refugees were being allowed to return to their homes.⁵³⁸ Some idea of Nicholls' problems, both personal and professional, can be gleaned from the letters that he wrote to his brother-in-law, Sidney Holderness, excerpts from which were subsequently published in the *Windsor and Eton Express*.

The business is in a terrible state and I am now up to my eyes trying to get things ship-shape in order to re-open.⁵³⁹

Johannesburg is terribly dull and very little business is doing...Folk have no money for luxuries, and S and I quite easily do all that there is.⁵⁴⁰

It was a matter of the greatest relief to know that all is right. Business is still very dull; most of the time seems settling and economising accounts which are sent in.⁵⁴¹

F is still at East London, though I have been pegging away at the Permit Committee incessantly for seven weeks...My landlord is up

⁵³⁶ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 124.

⁵³⁷ See 'Sandown Visitor', *Isle of Wight Chronicle*, 10 May, 1901. The court case had been on 7 May. Nicholls' father, Arthur, went with them. Sandown was where Arthur had, until recently, had a studio and where Horace had spent much of his childhood.

⁵³⁸ Their third child, Violet, was born in East London a few weeks later on 30 August.

⁵³⁹ Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 26 July, 1901, printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 4 January, 1902, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁰ Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 15 August, 1901, printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 4 January, 1902, p. 6. 'S' is Nicholls' brother, Stanley, who had returned to South Africa and assisted Nicholls at the Goch Studio.

⁵⁴¹ Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 6 September, 1901, printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 4 January, 1902, p. 6. Nicholls' expression of relief probably refers to him hearing of the safe delivery of his third child, Violet, on 30 August.

and making his presence felt with all his tenants by putting all rents up to full...The ruling rate in town is still a half. Unfortunately for me it seems to be decided that leases have been running on during the war, so that mine has run out and my position is most unenviable.⁵⁴²

Nicholls seems to have re-opened the Goch Studio for business by November. One of his first customers was a man named Vorster who had been wounded fighting for the Boers and had had his right arm amputated. Nicholls had photographed Vorster before the war and his 'before and after' portraits were published in *The Sphere* on 30 November.⁵⁴³

By the beginning of 1902, the situation had improved slightly and Florence and the children had finally been allowed to join Nicholls in Johannesburg. Business, however, was still poor:

Unfortunately...the new year has opened up very badly...although the city is livening up a bit and many more women and children are about, all seem to have come back more or less hard up. In any case they show no disposition to spend spare cash on such luxuries as I can supply.⁵⁴⁴

I am glad to say Johannesburg wears a gayer aspect every day, but business continues dull...⁵⁴⁵

Nicholls' problems were compounded by the fact that along with his brother, Stanley, he had to perform compulsory military service. All British male subjects in Johannesburg of eligible age had to Join the Rand Rifles, a town guard designed purely for defensive duties.⁵⁴⁶ Their uniform, rifle and 50 rounds of ammunition were

⁵⁴² Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 14 November, 1901, printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 4 January, 1902, p. 6.

Ibid. 'F' is Florence.

⁵⁴³ *The Sphere*, 30 November, 1901, p. xii.

⁵⁴⁴ Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 11 January, 1902. *Windsor and Eton Express*, 26 April, 1902, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁵ Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 14 February, 1902. *Windsor and Eton Express*, 26 April, 1902, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁶ Nicholls was private No. 10288, serving with the Town Battalion. On 4 September, 1901 he was issued with rifle No. 8259. He was officially discharged from the Rand Rifles on 1 July, 1902, just two weeks before he left South Africa for good. In 1908 Nicholls applied for, and received, the Queen's South Africa Medal for his

kept by the men in their own homes so that they could turn out, fully equipped, at short notice. Apart from rare skirmishes, the Rand Rifles saw very little action, most of their time being taken up with drill and picket duty:

The duties of the Rand Rifles are increasing... Tonight, for instance, we are both on picket duty at the Fort from 6.30pm till 6 am.

Tomorrow; after that our ordinary business to attend to, and the following morning at 8.30 a special parade before Lord Milner. Apart from that I was out at six o'clock this morning to attend a 6.30 drill.

We are getting on you see, but it is a job sometimes to realise whether you are a soldier or a business man.⁵⁴⁷

Given the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Nicholls appears to have taken relatively few photographs during this period.⁵⁴⁸ The war dragged on, but as Johannesburg gradually returned to normality, Nicholls was able to take some photographs of happier events, such as a children's picnic and a Ladies versus Gentlemen charity cricket match, which he managed to get published in Britain.⁵⁴⁹

The war reached its eventual conclusion in June 1902. Nicholls subsequently travelled to Pretoria to photograph the peace thanksgiving service which took place on 8 June in front of the Parliament Building or 'Raadsaal'.⁵⁵⁰

Peace had come to South Africa but Nicholls would not be there to see if the country would recover. He had decided that his future, and that of his family, lay back in Britain. Ten years earlier, Nicholls had come to Johannesburg to make his fortune. It had always been his intention to return to Britain after he had done so. In the intervening years he had created a successful business, but this had now been devastated by war. Also, he now had three young children that he wanted to be educated in Britain. Nicholls probably used his visit to Pretoria to photograph the

service in the Rand Rifles.

⁵⁴⁷ Letter from Nicholls to Sidney Holderness, dated 4 October, 1901, printed in the *Windsor and Eton Express*, 4 January, 1902, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁸ He did manage to combine his attendance at the parade before Lord Milner with taking a photograph of the event. He subsequently sent a print back to Britain to be registered for copyright – National Archives COPY 1/453/219, registered on 2 November, 1901.

⁵⁴⁹ See, *The Sphere*, 5 April, 1902, p. 8 and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 17 May, 1902, p. 425.

⁵⁵⁰ Eight of these photographs were subsequently registered by Nicholls for copyright – National Archives COPY 1/456/47 to COPY 1/457/54.

peace thanksgiving service as the opportunity to negotiate the sale of the Goch studio. In early July, Nicholls sold his studio to R. C. E. Nissen who ran a photographic studio in Pretorius Street, Pretoria.⁵⁵¹

On 12 July, Nicholls, together with Florence and their children, boarded a train from Johannesburg to Cape Town.

Mr. Horace W. Nicholls of the Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, left the Rand for good by Saturday morning's Cape train, on route for England. Mr. Nicholls has done a great deal of photographic work for the Home illustrated papers during the war, and after the siege of Ladysmith, lectured throughout Great Britain on the earlier phases of the conflict.⁵⁵²

From Cape Town the family sailed for home and on 2 August 1902, Nicholls arrived back in Britain.

⁵⁵¹ Robinson Christian Engletoft Nissen (1865-1955) was born in Whitehaven, Cumbria and emigrated to South Africa in 1881. After working as a photographer in various parts of the country, by 1900 he had his own studio in Pretoria. During the South African War, Nissen worked as a war correspondent for the *Daily Mail*. This may have been when he first met Nicholls. The date of Nicholls' sale of the Goch studio to Nissen can be estimated from contemporary copyright registration forms submitted by both men— COPY 1/456/47, completed by Nicholls on 30 June, 1902, gives his address as 'The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street'. COPY 1/457/1, completed by Nissen on 1 September, 1902, gives his addresses as both Pretorius Street, Pretoria & Pritchard Street, Johannesburg'. Nissen may have acted as an agent for Nicholls' photographs taken during the South African War. In 1902-3 he published a second edition of *Uitlanders and Colonists Who Fought for the Flag* which contains an additional page advertising Nissen's studios in Pretoria and Johannesburg – see https://m.bidorbuy.co.za/item/456989031/Uitlanders_and_Colonists_Who_Fought_for_the_Flag_1899_1900_Nicholls_Horace_W.html

⁵⁵² *Transvaal Leader*, 14 July, 1902.

Chapter Three- Illustrations



Figure 3.1. RPS 2003-5001_002_ 27493



Detail – Rene Bull

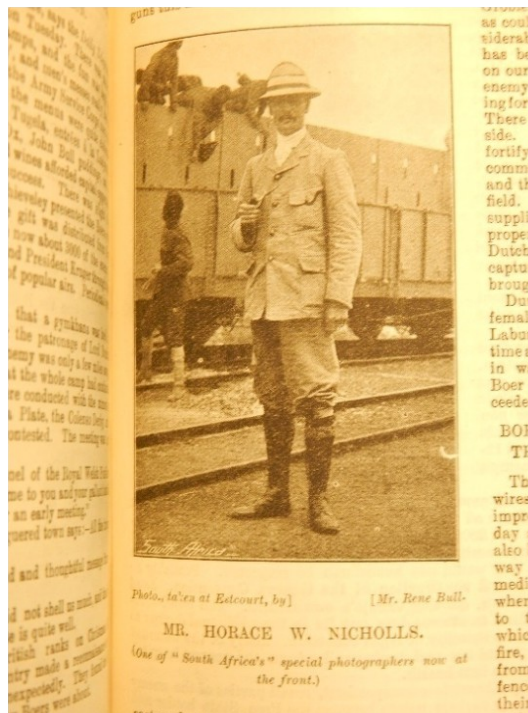


Figure 3.2 South Africa, 16 December, 1899.

THE IMPERIAL LIGHT HORSE.

FRESH FROM THE FRONT

A DESCRIPTION LECTURE BY
HORACE W. NICHOLLS
 (Of Johannesburg, who has just returned from the front.)
 Illustrated by most interesting selections from a series of over
 200 Photographs taken by himself.

The Lecture is being given at the kind suggestion and
 under the patronage of **LADY WHITE**, wife of **GENERAL
 SIR GEORGE WHITE, V.C.**

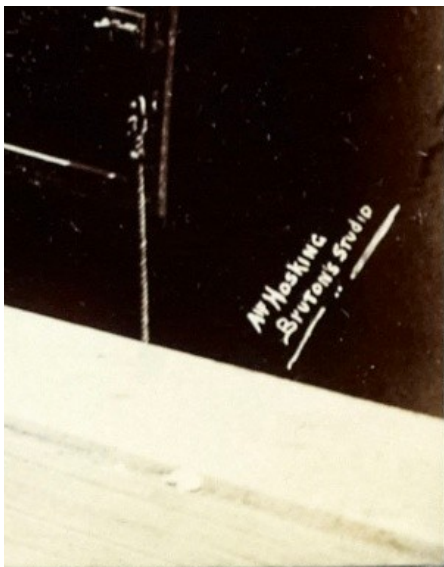
Mr. NICHOLLS, who is a practical Photographer of long standing in
 Johannesburg, left the Golden City shortly before war was declared, and
 proceeded through Natal, taking every point and incident of interest
 from Durban to Durban. He was in Ladysmith during the early
 bombardment, and after securing a number of views in the beleaguered town, including incidents in the battle-field
 during the disaster at Nicholson's Nek, managed by the merest chance to get out of the town by the last rail train
 from Ladysmith, bringing all his equipment with him. He afterwards proceeded through Natal by way of Estlin-
 gham, Pietermaritzburg, and Durban, thence to East London, from which point he joined General Buller's column,
 intending to proceed by way of Queenstown and De Aar to effect a junction with Lord Methuen's forces; but owing
 to the Boers at this time cutting the railway line about Swartburg, he was compelled to take the quartz line to
 Capetown. At each of these places the camera was kept busy, the result being a complete panorama of events of
 intense interest, introducing some of the grim features of modern warfare.

All applications for Dates and Terms to be made to
THE LECTURE AGENCY, LIMITED,
 38 The Outer Temple, LONDON, W.C.

Figure 3.3. Promotional flyer for lecture tour, 'Fresh from the Front'. Nicholls family archive.



Figure 3.4. RPS 2003_5001_0002_27580



Detail

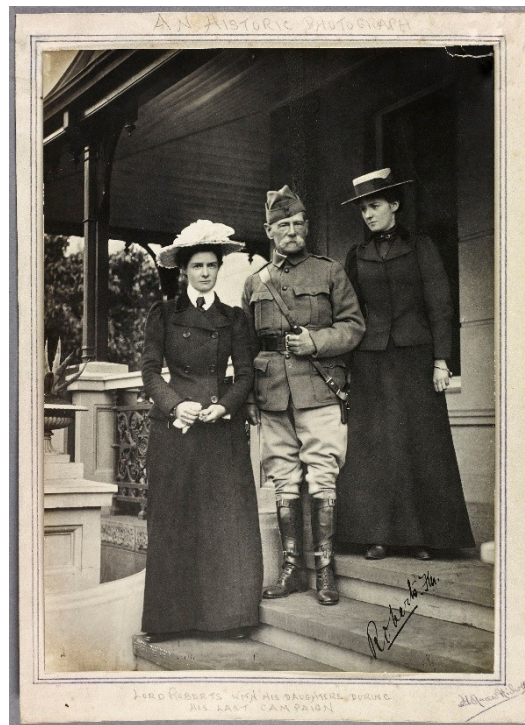


Figure 3.5. 'An Historic Photograph', RPS 2003-5001_0002_26371



Figure 3.6. 'Our Great Military Hero', *The Sphere*, 1 December, 1900



Figure 3.7. Horace Nicholls, 'The Leicesters reaching Ladysmith from Dundee', RPS 2003-5001_0002_26393



Figure 3.8. Lady Elizabeth Butler, *Halt on a Forced March, Peninsular War*, 1892. (Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery).



Figure 3.9. David Barnett, 'Hill Climbing with a Maxim Gun'. *Black and White Budget*, 13 January, 1900.



Figure 3.10. Horace Nicholls, *All Together Boys* RPS 2003-5001_0002_26377

CHAPTER FOUR

Press Photo Artist

On 2 August, 1902, Horace Nicholls arrived back in Southampton from Cape Town. In *The Golden Summer*, Buckland summarises what happened next:

Upon his return to Britain, having the security of a steady sale of Boer War pictures, an established name and a great deal of personal charm, and possibly some inherited money, Nicholls set out to succeed as a freelance photojournalist.⁵⁵³

Nicholls' decision to abandon commercial studio photography, the career which he had followed successfully since he was a young man, to try his luck as a freelance photographer supplying images to the illustrated press, was indeed a bold one. Undoubtedly, however, the decision took longer and the process was more complex than Buckland's summary seems to suggest.⁵⁵⁴ I have been unable to find any sales figures for Nicholls' photographs of the South African War. Any 'steady' income from such sales would, however, have been short-lived as the war soon lost its topicality.

At the time that he returned to Britain, Nicholls had almost certainly not yet decided on his future career. Upon his return, Nicholls settled initially in Windsor where he had well-established family and business connections.⁵⁵⁵ His wife, Florence, who was seven months pregnant, would have welcomed the proximity and support of her family.⁵⁵⁶ A more obvious career move would perhaps have been for Nicholls to have

⁵⁵³Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 125.

⁵⁵⁴ Pamela Roberts, a former curator of The Royal Photographic Society Collection, also suggests that Nicholls' decision to become a freelance journalistic photographer occurred more rapidly than seems to have been the case – 'He had returned from documenting the Boer War to London in 1902 and threw himself into a career as a photojournalist'. Pam Roberts, *Photogenic: From the Collection of The Royal Photographic Society*, London: Scriptorum Editions, 2000, p. 71.

⁵⁵⁵ By 16 August, the family were living at 102 King's Road, Windsor. On that date, Florence advertised for a general servant 'able to do Plain Cooking'. See, *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 16 August, 1902, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁶ Horace and Florence's fourth child, Sidney, was born on 16 October, 1902. See *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 18 October, 1902, p. 8. As well as members of Florence's family who lived in Windsor, Nicholls' brother, Herbert was boarding with Florence's brother Sidney Holderness at 100 Peascod Street – See 1901

re-established, at least temporarily, his connection with his former employer George Cartland. By this time, however, Cartland had sold his photographic studio in Windsor High Street to concentrate on his various financial interests and his business as an estate agent.⁵⁵⁷ Nicholls might also have considered assisting his father in his Reading photographic studio or even taking over the studio, allowing his father to retire. However, Arthur Nicholls had also recently sold his photographic studio and by the summer of 1902 had probably already retired to the Isle of Wight.⁵⁵⁸

Nicholls could also, of course, have considered opening his own studio. I have found no evidence of Nicholls having inherited money at around this time but he would certainly have had money to invest in a studio from his recent sale of the Goch studio in Johannesburg to R. C. E. Nissen.⁵⁵⁹ His father might also have been able to help him financially following the sale of his Reading studio. Perhaps Nicholls was dissuaded from doing so by the increasing level of competition that portrait photographers were then experiencing.⁵⁶⁰ Alternatively, he was, perhaps, reluctant to re-enter the safe but predictable world of studio photography after the liberating experience of photographing and lecturing about the South African War. Certainly, it

Census.

⁵⁵⁷ See *The Uxbridge and West Drayton Gazette*, 11 July 1903, p. 3. In 1896 Cartland had sold his studio to James Russell & Sons, a successful firm of portrait photographers who also operated studios in London, Chichester, Portsmouth and Southsea. In May 1897, Russell & Sons were granted a Royal Warrant as Photographers to Her Majesty – see Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown and Camera*, p.213. As a local estate agent, Cartland probably arranged the rental of the house which Nicholls rented at 102 King's Road, Windsor. In the 1901 census this address was recorded as being uninhabited.

⁵⁵⁸ Arthur Nicholls sold his studio at 40 Friar St, Reading, to Gilbert Stringer, a photographer who also had a studio in Colchester. The sale probably took place around March 1901. In the 1901 census which took place on 31 March, Arthur Nicholls' address was recorded as 11 Jesse Terrace, Reading – ten minutes' walk from his studio in Friar St. In the census return Arthur gives his occupation as 'artist/sculptor' rather than 'photographer', suggesting that he might already have sold his studio. On 21 March 1901, Arthur Nicholls sold to Stringer the copyright of a portrait of the evangelist Rodney 'Gipsy' Smith which he had taken in February 1898 (see National Archives COPY 1/457/151), suggesting that this was when he was disposing of the studio and its assets. The earliest advertisements for Stringer's Reading studio appear in May 1901 – see *The Henley and South Oxford Standard*, 31 May, 1901, p. 5.

⁵⁵⁹ It is not known how much Nicholls sold the Goch studio for. Florence's father, George Holderness, had died eight years earlier, in 1894, leaving £450 to her mother. Photographic studios were regularly advertised for sale in the photographic and general press. If he had wanted to, Nicholls could, for example, have bought a studio with reception, studio and darkrooms in 'a fashionable and rising South Devon seaside resort' for £215. See *The Western Times*, 29 April, 1902, p. 4. Nicholls' sister, Mabel, had died in June, 1902, aged just 28, but it is highly unlikely that she would have left him a substantial inheritance.

⁵⁶⁰ For example, the number of studios in London increased from 276 in 1891 to 352 in 1901, a rise of almost 30%. See Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers, 1841-1908*, Bushey: ALLM Books, 1986.p.16.

is clear that Nicholls took his time deciding what he wanted to do and did not immediately 'set out to succeed as a freelance photojournalist'.

Nicholls had 'established' his name in Britain on the basis of his of his photographs of the South African War and his subsequent lecture tour 'Fresh from the Front'. While his war experiences may have taught him valuable lessons about 'how to hustle and promote himself, make contact with art directors and editors, and how to produce pictures that would have an edge over the competition', it is unreasonable, to claim, as Buckland does, that upon his return to Britain Nicholls had already 'established a reputation as an ace photojournalist'.⁵⁶¹ Certainly, this claim is not supported by the fact that it was not until 1906 that Nicholls' work began to appear with any frequency in the illustrated press.

Initially, Nicholls concentrated on raising the profile of his South African work and making useful contacts with influential establishment figures, rather than art directors and editors. In September 1902, for example, he sent copies of his panoramic photograph of the Peace Thanksgiving Service held in Pretoria at the end of the South African War to both King Edward VII and Lord Kitchener.⁵⁶² Nicholls maintained his links with South Africa (his brother, Stanley, remained in South Africa where he enjoyed a long and successful career as a photographer, dying there in 1970, aged 92) and friends and colleagues from South Africa often visited the Nicholls family in Britain.⁵⁶³ On 14 July, 1903 Nicholls became a member of the Royal Colonial Institute, which had been founded in 1868:⁵⁶⁴

To provide a place of meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and other taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶¹ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 125.

⁵⁶² RPS 2003-5001_0002_26433. Correspondence in scrapbook in Mallinson family archive. Letter to Nicholls from Viscount Knollys, Edward VII's Private Secretary, 29 September, 1902.

⁵⁶³ His old boss, James Frederick Goch probably visited Nicholls in 1913. The family album for 1913 shows Florence, Sidney and Peggy Nicholls with a couple who are almost certainly Goch and his wife. Passenger list records show that Goch sailed from Britain to South Africa in January, 1914.

⁵⁶⁴ Cambridge University Library: Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Archives of the Royal Commonwealth Society, ARCS 7/1/4. Nicholls paid an entrance fee of £3 and an annual subscription of £2.

⁵⁶⁵ *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, December, 1903, p. i.

In return for his annual membership subscription of £2, Nicholls was able to make use of the facilities of the Institute's building in Northumberland Avenue, off Trafalgar Square, which included Reading, Writing and Smoking Rooms and an extensive library. Nicholls used the Institute as a gentleman's club and a convenient meeting place when he was in central London.

Nicholls' decision to become a full-time journalistic photographer may have been prompted, or at least encouraged, by an event which occurred while he was living in Windsor. In February 1903, The Royal Albert Institution in Windsor held a fundraising photographic exhibition.⁵⁶⁶ George Cartland was chairman of the organising committee and Nicholls' brother-in-law, Sidney Holderness, was a committee member. Unsurprisingly, Nicholls' work featured prominently in the exhibition:

Mr. H. W. Nicholls, whose pictures of the war in the Transvaal are so well known, had some of his productions on the wall, including portraits of "Bobs" and his daughters, Lord Kitchener, and one of his fine panoramic pictures of "Peace Thanksgiving in Pretoria, 1902", a copy of which was accepted by the King.⁵⁶⁷

As well as 'honorary' exhibits such as Nicholls', the exhibition also included competitive prints. Cartland had achieved something of a coup in securing the services of Henry Snowden Ward as the competition judge. As a photographic journalist, editor and critic, Ward was one of the most influential figures in British photography.⁵⁶⁸ In 1894, Ward, together with his wife, Catherine Weed Barnes Ward, a prominent figure in American amateur photography and an advocate for women in photography, had launched a monthly photography magazine called *The Photogram*. This was followed the next year by *The Process Photogram*, the first photographic trade monthly. The Wards were energetic advocates for photography and all its applications, and were intent on bringing together the commercial and artistic strands of the medium. They were particularly interested in promoting the use of photography in press illustration. In 1901 the Wards wrote and published the

⁵⁶⁶ The Royal Albert Institute was one of the first venues for Nicholls lecture, *Fresh from the Front*, on 1 March, 1900.

⁵⁶⁷ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 21 February, 1903, p. 5.

⁵⁶⁸ See Colin Harding, 'Henry Snowden Ward', *Black and White Photography*, November, 2012, pp. 74-75.

first English manual on press photography, *Photography for the Press*.⁵⁶⁹ That same year, they also compiled and published *The Index of Standard Photograms*, a list of photographs available to the press and photographers who could supply prints for reproduction, and set up one of the first photographic agencies, The Illustrated Press Bureau.⁵⁷⁰

The Wards enthused about the financial opportunities offered by press photography, which they described as a 'the most profitable new field lying open to photographers' and a 'golden opportunity':⁵⁷¹

The illustrated press has a great and growing demand for photograms for reproduction, and while some few photographers are doing what they can to meet the demand, most are ignoring it entirely. Several of those who are specially cultivating press-work are making their hundreds a year from this source alone...⁵⁷²

While not advocating that photographers should take an entirely mercenary approach when dealing with the press, they were clear and unapologetic regarding their motive for publishing *Photography for the Press*:

The increasing importance of press work to all classes of photographers is the excuse for the present manual. Its first object is not noble, perhaps; it is to show photographers how to make money. In this respect it is a new departure in photographic literature, which has dealt fully with art and technique, but has left untouched the commercial side of the question, which few can afford to despise.⁵⁷³

Nicholls certainly did not despise the commercial aspects of photography; neither was he in a position to afford to do so. There is no evidence that Nicholls met Henry

⁵⁶⁹Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press*, London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1901.

⁵⁷⁰ Henry Snowden Ward, *The Index of Standard Photograms*, New York: Tennant and Ward, 1901. See Beegan, *The Mass Image*, p. 167. For the formation of The Illustrated Press Bureau, see 'Ex Cathedra', *The British Journal of Photography*, 11 January, 1901, p.17. The Bureau supplied photographs to, amongst others, *The Illustrated London News*, *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* and *The Sphere*.

⁵⁷¹ 'Photography for the Press', *The Photogram*, August 1900, p. 253.

⁵⁷² 'Golden Opportunities', *The Photogram*, January 1900, p.3.

⁵⁷³Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p.3.

Snowden Ward at the Royal Albert Institution but, given their roles of judge and exhibitor, together with Nicholls' close relationship with George Cartland, it is extremely likely that the two men were introduced. Given Ward's interest in press photography and Nicholls' recent experience of supplying images to the illustrated press, their conversation would almost certainly have turned to the current state of press photography and the opportunities it offered.

Regardless of whether Nicholls' actually met Ward and discussed the topic, through personal experience he would have been well aware of the increasing demand for photographs from the press and the potential income offered by press photography. Nicholls' previous experience of press photography had been prompted and shaped by opportunism and pragmatism – his proximity to newsworthy events such as the dynamite explosion at Braamfontein and the disruption to business and closure of his studio in Johannesburg at the outbreak of the South African War. Like many other professional photographers, Nicholls' regarded his work for the press primarily as an addition to (or, as during the war, a temporary substitute for) his studio work and a useful way of augmenting his income. At the end of the war Nicholls, albeit temporarily, attempted to rebuild his business at the Goch studio.

A small number of magazines had by this time begun to employ their own in-house staff photographers but all publications also drew heavily on the services of well-known professional photographers for their images.⁵⁷⁴ Magazine editors also used photographs supplied by provincial studios and amateur photographers to cover regional events. In 1904, for example, the Art Editor of *The Bystander* advertised for the services of amateur photographers at Oxford and Cambridge 'who can take good snap-shots'.⁵⁷⁵ For most photographers, press photography was simply 'a profitable side-line' which offered opportunities to 'the "outside" photographer, who does not depend entirely upon press work'.⁵⁷⁶ For those photographers who wanted to try their

⁵⁷⁴ For example, at this time, portraits by leading London studios such as Bassano, W & D Downey and Elliot & Fry appear frequently in, amongst others, *The Tatler*, *The Sketch* and *The Illustrated London News*. Ward's *Index of Standard Photographs*, lists 219 photographers as 'professional illustrators' but only a very few of these specialised in press work – for example, Symmons & Co. See Beegan, *The Mass Image*, p. 167.

⁵⁷⁵ *The Bystander*, 2 November, 1904, p. 320.

⁵⁷⁶ Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p.7.

luck with press photography, the first specialist photographic agencies were established in the mid-1890s.⁵⁷⁷ Agencies would receive a photographer's work, submit it for publication and forward them payment in due course, taking from 10% to 25% of the fee as commission.⁵⁷⁸

Nicholls' decision to abandon studio photography and dedicate himself full-time to journalistic photography, becoming a self-employed freelance press photographer, unattached to any publication or agent – in effect, becoming his own one-man press agency – was a bold, indeed unprecedented, step. It was a decision that was to take several years to reach fruition but may have already have begun to take shape in 1903 when Nicholls left Windsor.

In May 1903, Florence Nicholls advertised in the local newspaper for a 'good general' servant to accompany the family to Ealing in west London.⁵⁷⁹ Nicholls' move to Ealing reflected his social aspirations. At the turn of the century Ealing enjoyed a growing reputation as a prosperous middle-class suburb.⁵⁸⁰ The proportion of female domestic servants to the total number of households was 69% and was only surpassed in Greater London by Hampstead and Kensington.⁵⁸¹ Improved transport links meant that many Ealing residents now made the daily commute to work in central London.⁵⁸² The opening decade of the twentieth century saw a boom in house construction in Ealing. Nicholls bought a newly-built, semi-detached house at 9

⁵⁷⁷ On the first photographic agencies in London, see Helmut Gernsheim, *The History of Photography*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1968, pp. 454-455 and also, Beegan, *The Mass Image*, p. 164. In 1905, Ward lists 12 press agents in London, including Bolak's Electrotpe Agency, Nops Ltd, The Pictorial Press Agency and The Press Picture Agency.

⁵⁷⁸ For the services offered by a typical agency, see Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, pp. 26-30.

⁵⁷⁹ *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 2 May, 1903, p. 4. The person who got the job was Martha Annie Eldridge. She had previously worked for Frederick Layton, a solicitor who lived in Bolton Avenue, Windsor, just ten minutes' walk from the Nicholls' house in King's Road. As a live-in servant, she would have been paid about £20 per annum. Annie Eldridge was still with the Nicholls family at the time of the 1911 census.

⁵⁸⁰ For a history of Ealing, see T.F.T. Baker (ed), *A History of Middlesex*, Vol VII, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 106-113.

⁵⁸¹ See Michael Jahn, 'Suburban Development in Outer West London', in F.M.L.Thompson, (ed), *The Rise of Suburbia*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982, p. 144.

⁵⁸² The District Railway (now the Underground District Line) reached Ealing in 1879 and the line was electrified in 1905. In 1901, London's first electric tram service began, from Shepherd's Bush to Southall, passing through Ealing town centre.

Amherst Avenue, part of a new residential area just 15 minutes' walk from Ealing Broadway station.⁵⁸³ (Figure 4.1)

The house in Amherst Avenue satisfied several criteria. While it was semi-detached, it was also large enough for Nicholls' large and growing family (in 1904 Florence became pregnant again, giving birth to their fifth child, a daughter, Margaret (known as Peggy), on 19 October, 1904) and a live-in servant. Significantly, it was also big enough for Nicholls to have an office, and a studio and darkroom in the dormer attic. It was quick and easy for Nicholls to travel into central London to meet with editors and publishers and it was also convenient for returning by train to Windsor to see family and friends.

In the absence of regular press work, Nicholls would have depended initially for most of his income on the sale of his photographs of the South African War. Buckland suggests that these images enjoyed 'a steady sale' but I have been unable to find any information to confirm the numbers sold. Nicholls continued to sell these photographs for several years but sales would inevitably have declined as the war faded in popular consciousness.⁵⁸⁴

The period between 1903 and 1906 might be considered as the time when Nicholls was finding his feet as an independent journalistic photographer and learning the specific skills required to make a success of his new career. Between 1906 and 1908, the frequency of Nicholls' photographs appearing in the illustrated press increases dramatically, suggesting a new-found business acumen.⁵⁸⁵ Nicholls' family album, compiled in 1907, contains two carefully-posed self-portraits. In one, Nicholls the businessman sits at a desk in his study, carefully making notes in a ledger.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸³ The Nicholls were probably the first family to move into Amherst Avenue, while the rest of the houses in the street were still being built. In the 1902-3 Kelly's Directory for Ealing, Amherst Avenue is not listed. In the 1903-04 Directory, just two houses in Amherst Avenue are listed as occupied – No.7 and Nicholls' house, No.9. The road was named after Charles Thomas Amherst, a wealthy jeweller who lived in nearby Castle Bar House and who may have funded the development.

⁵⁸⁴ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 125. In Nicholls' catalogues of his photographs of the South African War, the Goch Studio address in Johannesburg has been crossed out replaced with his address at 9 Amherst Avenue, indicating that they were still being sold in 1903 and almost certainly later.

⁵⁸⁵ According to my survey: 1906 – 16 references; 1907 – 36 references; 1908 – 64 references.

⁵⁸⁶ Florence seems to have helped her husband in the day to day running of his business, sending out packets of prints for approval, dealing with correspondence and answering the telephone when he was away photographing. A letter from the Art Editor of *The Daily Mirror* written in 1913, regarding some of Nicholls' South African photographs, begins 'Dear Madam' - Letter in the Royal Photographic Society Collection, dated 4

(Figure 4.2) On the wall behind him there is a telephone – a striking example of modernity and business communication in a domestic setting.⁵⁸⁷ In the other, Nicholls, the photographer, now in shirtsleeves, makes careful adjustments to the large studio camera in his daylight attic studio.(Figure 4.3) Behind him, printing frames are propped up at the window, creating the next set of prints to be sent off for publication. Together, these self-portraits present an impression of professionalism. This, they say, is a man who knows what he is doing – both as a businessman and as a photographer.

Nicholls is often described as being one of the first photojournalists. Brian Coe, for example, calls him a 'Pioneer Photojournalist'.⁵⁸⁸ At the time, however, Nicholls would not have recognised the term.⁵⁸⁹ Indeed, such was the novelty of his profession and the breadth of his work, Nicholls seems to have struggled when asked to name his profession, giving a variety of responses. His business card described him as a 'Photo-Artist'. In the 1907 telephone directory he is listed as 'Artist'. The following year, on his son George's admission form for Berkhamsted School, he describes himself as a 'Journalist'. In the 1911 census he gives his profession as 'Press, Journalistic'. The term 'Press Photographer', which was in common usage by this time, does not reflect fully the range of his work. The best description is probably the one which Nicholls coined for himself and used on his headed stationery. This encompasses the journalistic, photographic and artistic elements of his work – 'Press Photo Artist'.

As a photographer, Nicholls was technically proficient, making full use of the knowledge and skills that he had acquired and honed over many years in a range of environments.⁵⁹⁰ Nicholls also had no doubts regarding his artistic sensibility. The

August, 1913. The full text reads: 'Dear Madam, In returning Mr. Nicholls' South African pictures, which I regret I am unable to use, I beg to point out that your packet contained seven pictures, not eight as mentioned in your letter'.

⁵⁸⁷ Nicholls' telephone number was Ealing 861. This number was placed in the centre of the ink stamp with which he marked the reverse of all his prints. 9 Amherst Avenue was one of the first houses in Ealing to have a telephone. Nicholls' name first appears in the Post Office telephone directory in 1907, suggesting that the photograph was taken shortly after it was installed.

⁵⁸⁸ See, for example, Brian Coe, 'Horace Nicholls: Pioneer Photojournalist', *The Photographic Journal*, February, 1989, pp. 66-68.

⁵⁸⁹ The term 'photojournalist' did not come into popular usage until the 1930s.

⁵⁹⁰ One has only to read the technical articles which he contributed to *The Kodak Magazine* to appreciate this. See, for example, 'Winter is with Us: How to Photograph Snow', *The Kodak Magazine*, January, 1934, pp. 8-9.

business side of press photography, however, was something that he had had to learn about comparatively quickly. Manuals such as Ward's *Photography for the Press* were a useful introduction but were not a substitute for hard-earned practical experience. By 1907, however, the various pieces of Nicholls' occupational jigsaw - technical, financial and administrative – appear to be in place and he is confident in handling the day-to-day administrative requirements of being a freelance journalistic photographer:

The photographer who aims at supplying prints to the press must possess a keen eye, an alert intelligence for likely subjects and their adaptability for use, and must be a good technical photographer. He must be familiar with the exact class of work likely to be acceptable to any given publication; he must know the addresses of the papers, and the times when must be to hand to admit of publication. He should also know the prices to be expected for various kinds of publications.⁵⁹¹

When Nicholls submitted his photographs for publication, he laid out, clearly and in duplicate, the terms, conditions and prices for the reproduction of his photographs. A pre-printed label pasted to the back of each submitted photograph stated:

The photographs are Copyright, and supplied for reproduction in one issue only of the Publication specified above, if acknowledged to "HORACE W. NICHOLLS" at foot of each impression, for a fee and size as follows. If published over size or not acknowledged extra fee will be charged. The acceptance of the photograph is an agreement to pay the fee whether photo is used or not. Special fees by arrangement for full-page or Cover studies. Insets or grouped photographs are charged a separate fee for each. Ordinary Fee 10/6 up to 6ins x 4ins; 21/- up to 9ins x 6ins.

⁵⁹¹'Press Photography', Bernard E. Jones, (ed), *Cassell's Cyclopaedia of Photography*, London: Cassell and Company, 1911, p. 438.

To ensure that there could be no possible doubt over the conditions of use, each submitted print also bore two ink stamps on the reverse.⁵⁹² (Figure 4.4) One stamp carried Nicholls' name, address and telephone number; the other stated:

This copyright photograph is supplied for reproduction in one issue only of the Journal specified in my account if acknowledged to "HORACE W. NICHOLLS" at foot of each impression for a fee and size as at foot. If published over size or not acknowledged extra fee will be charged.

The acceptance of the photograph is an agreement to pay the fee whether the photo is used or not.

Fee 10/6 up to 6" x 4"; 21/- up to 9" x 6"

Ensuring that full acknowledgement was given for his work was important to Nicholls. It was normal practice for publishers to send a copy of the magazine (known as a voucher copy) in which a photographer's work was reproduced to the photographer free of charge and there is evidence to suggest that Nicholls compiled scrapbooks of cuttings from magazines in which his work had appeared.⁵⁹³ Nicholls clearly checked whether a credit had been given for his work and in cases where it had not he would contact the magazine to ensure that this was corrected in a subsequent issue. On 5 December 1908, for example, *The Graphic* published a full-page photograph by Nicholls of the Eton Wall Game, without an acknowledgment. Two weeks later, the magazine printed the following statement:

Our large illustration of the Eton Wall Game which appeared in The Graphic of Dec. 5 was by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² Nicholls also occasionally used a third ink stamp which stated 'Horace W. Nicholls – Copyright Photos'.

⁵⁹³ A photograph in the Nicholls family album for 1913, for example, shows Florence and two other women looking at what appears to be large scrapbook. A series of similar photographs appears in the albums for 1917 and 1919. In 2017 I purchased a small bound album of magazine cuttings entitled *Contributions to Penny Pictorial etc, by Horace W. Nicholls* from an antiquarian bookshop in Bristol. Unfortunately, the bookseller was unable to provide any provenance for this volume.

⁵⁹⁴ 'The Great Wall Game at Eton', *The Graphic*, 5 December, 1908, p. 695 and *The Graphic*, 19 December, 1908, p. 774. It is not known whether Nicholls, as laid out in his conditions of sale, charged an extra fee as a result of this lack of an acknowledgement.

Nicholls' requested form of acknowledgement was 'Horace W. Nicholls'. In practice, however, his work was credited in a variety of forms, all of which he seems to have accepted, including 'Horace W. Nicholls', 'H. W. Nicholls', 'Horace Nicholls' or simply 'Nicholls'.⁵⁹⁵

For weekly magazines, prints needed to be submitted – usually to the Art Editor or Illustrations Editor – a few days before publication.⁵⁹⁶ Nicholls would discuss the matter with them by telephone before personally delivering his photographs to their offices in central London.⁵⁹⁷ Buckland states: 'Rarely did Nicholls leave prints on approval'.⁵⁹⁸ I have, however, found several instances when this was case. On 22 April 1910, for example, Nicholls sent several of his South African photographs to the Art Editor of *The Bystander* 'for selection and return in good order of those not required'.⁵⁹⁹ The editor selected a composite portrait of Lord Kitchener which was published full-page five days later.⁶⁰⁰

There was some debate within the photographic community as to whether it was ethical to submit the same photographs simultaneously to several different magazines.⁶⁰¹ Nicholls, however, seems to have had no qualms about this. Occasionally, the same photographs taken by him were reproduced in different magazines published during the same week.⁶⁰² Usually, however, since most of his photographs were not date-specific he would wait a while after one of his photographs was reproduced in a magazine before submitting it again to a similar, rival publication.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁵ See appendix for specific examples.

⁵⁹⁶ Monthly magazines had longer lead-in times and submissions were required about a month before publication.

⁵⁹⁷ A carefully posed photograph shows Nicholls, in a suit and bowler hat with a flower in his lapel and carrying a portfolio under his arm, leaving his house – purportedly setting off for Fleet Street. Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 127.

⁵⁹⁸ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 128.

⁵⁹⁹ Label in the Royal Photographic Society Collection.

⁶⁰⁰ 'K on Horseback – A rare Photograph of the Famous Field-Marshal', *The Bystander*, 27 April, 1910, p. 167.

⁶⁰¹ See Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p. 19.

⁶⁰² There are many instances of this. See, for example, Nicholls' contrasting photographs of Boulter's Lock taken in summer and winter which appeared in *The Daily Graphic* on 15 January, 1908 (p. 5) and *The Sphere* three days later, 18 January, 1908, p. 55.

⁶⁰³ For example, his photograph of a young woman bathing in the sea was reproduced as a cover illustration for *Fry's Magazine* in August 1912 and appears again as a cover illustration for *Penny Pictorial* in August the following year.

The scale of reproduction fees that Nicholls quoted were the minimum fees set out by The Photographic Copyright Union. As a member of the Union, Nicholls was obliged to follow these rules.⁶⁰⁴ *Photography for the Press* stressed that these Copyright Union fees were 'a minimum, and that most of the work worth accepting by a first-class paper is worth at least double the "C. U." rate'.⁶⁰⁵ A Copyright Union member was, of course 'at liberty to charge a larger fee according to his own idea to its value'.⁶⁰⁶ Usually, this was precisely what Nicholls did.

As Nicholls made clear on his note of sale label, full page reproductions were considered to be a special case and were charged a higher negotiated fee by arrangement. In 1905, Ward stated that 'a full page in a first-class London illustrated paper is usually worth £5, 5s. – sometimes much more' and quotes an example of an editor paying 15 guineas for a panoramic photograph reproduced as a two-page spread.⁶⁰⁷ By the time the fourth edition of Ward's book was published, in 1914: 'The average prices paid to-day by the large illustrated weeklies are, owing to the keenness of competition, rather less than formerly' and 'a full page in a first-class London illustrated paper is usually worth £3 3s., sometimes much more'.⁶⁰⁸

Regarding photo-collages and multiple photographs on the same page, Ward considered that:

Full pages, when arranged and submitted as such (say three, four, six, eight or more views related to the same subject), are usually

⁶⁰⁴*Rules of the Photographic Copyright Union*, 1898. Booklet in Nicholls' 'News Cuttings' scrapbook, Royal Photographic Society Collection, p. 7. 'Rule XXIII: That no member shall allow any Copyright Photograph...to be reproduced...at a less fee than 10/6 up to and including Cabinet size 6 x 4 inches, or for a less fee than 1 guinea to be reproduced beyond Cabinet size and up to and including 12 x 10 inches, on each occasion, and for each different publication or form in which it is used...'

⁶⁰⁵Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁰⁶*Rules of the Photographic Copyright Union*, 1898. Booklet in Nicholls' 'News Cuttings' scrapbook, Royal Photographic Society Collection, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁷Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p. 21. Ward suggests that a full-page reproduction might be worth as much as 10 guineas.

⁶⁰⁸ Now entitled *Photography for the Press and Photography for Profit*, this had been revised by F. J. Mortimer. F. J. Mortimer, *Photography for the Press and Photography for Profit*, London: Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd, 1914, p. 52.

reckoned as pages, irrespective of the number of individual originals that may enter into them.⁶⁰⁹

Nicholls, however, insisted that 'Insets or grouped photographs are charged a separate fee for each'. This would have made a considerable difference to his fees since many of Nicholls' full-page reproductions consisted of collages of several images.⁶¹⁰

Nicholls' fondness for collages was the result of artistic as well as financial considerations. As early as the 1890s, magazine art editors were frustrated by the regular, often monotonous appearance presented by pages of rectangular half-tone blocks:

But the monotony is there and every sub-editor who has to attempt to make up attractive pages with type and rectangular half-tone blocks is feeling sick of the effort. He has realized the hopelessness of it, even if the public has not yet done so, and he is seeking everywhere for something to give brightness and variety.⁶¹¹

One way of introducing 'brightness and variety' was to soften the regular, rectangular appearance of half-tone reproductions on the page by creating complex arrangements, known as 'mosaics', by grouping together images of different shapes and sizes, often with decorative borders and graphic decorations.⁶¹² Nicholls' photographs were often presented as elaborate full-page mosaics or using several photographs of different sizes, sometimes cropped as circles or ovals or used as insets.⁶¹³(Figure 4.5) It was almost certainly Nicholls himself, rather than the relevant magazine's art editor, who was responsible for creating these collages. In 1907, two

⁶⁰⁹Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p. 21.

⁶¹⁰ Nicholls' work was often presented as full-page collages, often including as many as seven or more separate photographs. A full-page collage of his photographs of Monte Carlo, reproduced in *The Sketch*, included no fewer than eleven different photographs. 'Where the Fickle Goddess in Wooded: Monte Carlo', *The Sketch*, 27 December, 1911, p. 359.

⁶¹¹ 'The Future', *The Process Photogram*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1895, p. 13, quoted in Beegan, *The Mass Image*, p. 175.

⁶¹² See Beegan, *The Mass Image*, pp. 174-176.

⁶¹³ There are many examples. For two typical pages, see 'The King and Queen Visit Royal Ascot', *The Graphic*, 19 June, 1909, p. 799 and 'The Wall Game- Loose Bully', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 25 November, 1911, p. 556.

identical mosaics using Nicholls' photographs were published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* and *The Sphere* within two weeks of each other.⁶¹⁴ It is inconceivable that two separate art editors on rival publications would have independently created two identical mosaics using the same selection of photographs.

Magazine cover illustrations also merited special fees, due to their high profile:

Front pages and special supplements fetch special rates, and are generally the subject of negotiation with the editor. We have known of several cases of front pages fetching sums of over ten pounds for a single issue...⁶¹⁵

With Nicholls' photographs that were reproduced as full-page or cover illustrations, the Photographic Copyright Union minimum fees did not apply. In these cases, Nicholls crossed out the last line of his stamp on the back of his print which gave the standard reproduction fee and wrote 'Special' or 'Special Fee', indicating that the fee was higher.

It is impossible to calculate Nicholls' annual income accurately since there is no surviving evidence such as account books. Buckland, suggests it was around £350, basing her figure on the salary that Nicholls requested when he joined the Department of Information in 1917.⁶¹⁶ Given the frequency with which his work appeared in the press and the fact that the majority of his photographs were reproduced full-page or as full-page collages, this amount does not seem unreasonable.⁶¹⁷ Nicholls certainly enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle, with a large house in a prosperous suburb, a live-in servant and all his children attending private

⁶¹⁴ See *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 26 October, 1907, p. 276 and *The Sphere*, 16 November, 1907, p. 139.

⁶¹⁵ Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p. 21. This price remained unchanged in the fourth edition, published in 1914.

⁶¹⁶ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 128.

⁶¹⁷ In 1896, Charles Booth estimated that an operator employed by a good London photographic studio could earn three guineas a week. Journalism was comparatively a better paid occupation; while Booth does not specifically mention press photographers, he states that a reporter on a London-based newspaper or magazine would earn between £200 and £500 per annum. Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London, Vol. VIII*, London: Macmillan & Co, 1896, pp. 116 and 154.

schools. An annual income of around £350 would certainly have placed him firmly in the Edwardian middle class.⁶¹⁸

Good financial management, however, was only one of the skills required (arguably, the most easily acquired) of a successful independent journalistic photographer. Far more important was their quality of work, choice of subject and sense of timing. As Henry Snowden Ward summed it up, for a photograph 'to be saleable it must not only be good of its kind, but it must be offered to the right market, and it must be offered at the right time'.⁶¹⁹ The foundation of Nicholls' commercial success was his mastery of these three basic requirements.

The first images that Nicholls supplied to the press following his move to Ealing were photographs that he had taken, often years earlier, in South Africa. In November 1903, for example, Lord Kitchener broke his leg in a riding accident in India. In line with Snowden Ward's advice that: 'Current events, if of sufficient importance, will always be gladly entertained by editors', Nicholls submitted a composite photograph of Kitchener that he had taken in Johannesburg in June the previous year to *The Tatler*.⁶²⁰ (Figures 4.6 and 4.7) Photographs taken by Nicholls when he was in Johannesburg continued to be reproduced occasionally by the press during the next few years in connection with news reports on South African events.⁶²¹

Compared with the large number of photographs that he registered during and immediately following the South African War, very few of Nicholls' photographs taken

⁶¹⁸ In his book *Riches and Poverty*, first published in 1905, L. G. Chiozza Money, loosely defined the middle class as those with an annual income between £160 (the income tax threshold) and £700. Money disliked the terms 'upper', 'middle' and 'working' classes, preferring instead 'rich', 'comfortable' and 'poor'. Nicholls would certainly have been regarded as 'comfortable'. L. G. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, London: Methuen & Co, 4th ed, 1908, p. 43. By way of comparison, in 1903, the average weekly wage of a manual worker was calculated as just 20s. 6d. (around £50 per annum) – Ibid, p. 24.

⁶¹⁹ Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p. 6.

⁶²⁰ 'The Accident to Lord Kitchener in India', *The Tatler*, 25 November, 1903, p. 285. This is credited to 'Horace Nicholls, Ealing'. To increase the topicality of the photograph and disguise its original context, Nicholls cut out the figure of Kitchener mounted on his horse and re-photographed it against a generic sylvan background – an early example of the photomontage technique that he later came to use frequently. RPS 2003-5001_0002_27458.

⁶²¹ See, for example, 'A Typical Native Village in Natal' (RPS 2003-5001_0002_27494) and 'A Natal Kaffir Warrior and his Retinue' (originally reproduced in 'A Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee Festivities'), *The Graphic*, 7 April, 1906, (Supplement) p. 1.

at this time were registered for copyright.⁶²² In 1904 Nicholls registered just four photographs – one taken at Ascot and three at Boulter’s Lock, on the River Thames near Maidenhead.⁶²³ Given his recent legal action against the publishers of *The Golden Penny* for copyright infringement, it is perhaps surprising that Nicholls now seems to have adopted a much more casual approach to the issue of copyright protection. Copyright law in Britain was to change fundamentally in 1911 with the passing of the Imperial Copyright Act which abolished the need for registration at Stationers’ Hall, implementing instead that copyright was established automatically at the time that a work was created.⁶²⁴ In the period until this new act came into force, Nicholls did not bother to register the vast majority of his photographs. He did, however, always ensure that every photograph he submitted to the press bore a stamp on the reverse describing it as a ‘copyright photograph’ - even though until the new Copyright Act received Royal Assent on 16 December 1911 this statement was untrue in almost every case. Even regarding those photographs which he did register, Nicholls usually chose to submit alternative, unregistered images for publication.⁶²⁵

During 1905 and 1906 Nicholls explored Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Surrey, often with Florence, quite literally, in tow as she sat behind him in their bicycle trailer. (Figure 4.8) The annual photograph albums compiled by Nicholls for these years include scenes from around the Thames Valley as well as towns such as Godalming and Guildford.⁶²⁶ Further from home, Nicholls also photographed seaside scenes in

⁶²² Nicholls registered just eight photographs for copyright between 1903 and 1908; none in 1903, four in 1904, none in 1905, three in 1906, none in 1907, and one in 1908.

⁶²³ See National Archives COPY 1/475/22 ‘Photograph of lunch time among the coaches at Ascot’, COPY 1/475/23 ‘Photograph (vertical) of Boulter’s Lock’, COPY 1/475/24 ‘Photograph of Lock Cut on Cliveden side of Lock’ and COPY 1/475/25 ‘Photograph (horizontal) of Boulter’s Lock.’

⁶²⁴ In the simplest terms, F. J. Mortimer described the provisions of the 1911 Copyright Act as: ‘As a general rule, it may be said that the copyright in a photograph belongs to the man who “presses the button” the taker of the negative, or, to give him his correct name, “the author”’. F. J. Mortimer, *Photography for the Press and Photography for Profit*, London: Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd, 1914, p. 68. For a detailed discussion of how the 1911 Act related to photography, see George E. Brown and Alexander Mackie, *Photographic Copyright*, London: Henry Greenwood & Co, 1912. See also ‘Copyright in Photographs’, *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1915, pp. 680-681.

⁶²⁵ I can find no evidence of any of Nicholls’ photographs registered in 1904 being reproduced. The only example of a copyrighted image from around this time being reproduced in a magazine that I have been able to find is a view of Eton reproduced in *The Sphere* on 29 September 1906, p. 275, which Nicholls registered for copyright just four days earlier – see National Archives COPY 1/501/366, ‘Photograph of general view of Eton’.

Margate, Ramsgate, Broadstairs, Dover and Worthing.⁶²⁷ During 1906, as well as some of Nicholls' South African photographs, more recent images, taken by him in Britain, start to appear in the press.

It was during this time that Nicholls first photographed some of the places and events for which he was to later become closely associated, including Ascot, Goodwood, the Epsom Derby, Henley Regatta and Boulter's Lock on the Thames.⁶²⁸ Taking place each year between May and August, these were key social and sporting events attended by the wealthy and privileged as part of the long-established social calendar known simply as 'The Season'.⁶²⁹

Nicholls' photographs of Boulter's Lock, taken on Ascot Sunday, provide a useful case study to consider his work at this time in the broader context of the illustrated press. Henry Snowden Ward recommended that that the first thing any aspiring press photographer should do was look at a range of illustrated magazines and newspapers to see the type of images that were being reproduced:

If determined on trying press photography, it is well to carefully study the illustrated papers for a few weeks...and decide upon two or three, or half a dozen, which are most likely to take your work.⁶³⁰

Had Nicholls done as Ward suggested, he would have seen that Ascot Sunday at Boulter's Lock was an extremely popular subject that appeared in most illustrated magazines every summer.⁶³¹

Boulter's Lock on Ascot Sunday is one of the up-river sights of the season. Why it should be so on that particular day more than on any

⁶²⁶ In 1905 Nicholls began a tradition of compiling a photographic album of events of the year which he gave to Florence as a Christmas present. The last dated album was made in 1938. These albums are now held by David Mallinson as part of the family archive.

⁶²⁷ 'Londoners by the Sea', *The Graphic*, 25 August, 1906, p. 245.

⁶²⁸ In 1904 Nicholls copyrighted one of his photographs taken at Ascot - National Archives COPY 1/475/22 'Photograph of lunch time among the coaches at Ascot'. The 1905 Nicholls family album contains views of Epsom and Boulter's Lock.

⁶²⁹ For a study of the late Victorian and Edwardian 'Season', see Anna Sproule, *The Social Calendar*, Poole: Blandford Press, 1978.

⁶³⁰ Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p.9.

⁶³¹ See, for example, *The Sketch* 26 June, 1901, p. 376, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 29 June, 1901, p. 709, *The Sphere*, 1 July, 1905, p. 1, *the Graphic*, 8 July, 1905, p. 7, *The Tatler*, 12 July, 1905, p.46

other it is not easy to understand, except that fashion has instituted the day as a sort of Show Sunday on the river, and has decreed that everybody who has any pretensions to be anybody...shall come out in their trimmest and neatest craft...and show off their brightest attire on that particular Sunday afternoon.⁶³²

The colourful, animated scene was a magnet for artists. When the sun shone, 'the ladies dresses that had glistened on the lawn at Ascot shone once more in the reflections of the silver stream' and it seemed that 'people who on land would look quite ordinary, become somehow quite picturesque under the glamour of the river'.⁶³³ In 1897, Edward John Gregory's painting, *Boulter's Lock, Sunday Afternoon*, was exhibited at The Royal Academy.⁶³⁴ (Figure 4.9) Gregory's painting was reproduced that year as an engraving in both *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* and *The Graphic*.⁶³⁵ Photographers, too, were drawn to the scene and were a common sight amongst the crowd of onlookers. The narrator in Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat*, published in 1889, relates an anecdote when:

It was a glorious day, and the lock was crowded; and, as is a common practice up the river, a speculative photographer was taking a picture of us all as we lay upon the rising waters.

...Everybody in the lock seemed to have been suddenly struck wooden. They were all standing or sitting about in the most quaint and curious attitudes I have ever seen off of a Japanese fan. All the girls were smiling. Oh, they did look so sweet! And all the fellows were frowning, and looking stern and noble.⁶³⁶

It is revealing to compare Nicholls' photograph of Boulter's Lock which he registered for copyright in 1904 with a photograph of the same scene, taken by F. Baker,

⁶³²*The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 29 June, 1901, p. 714.

⁶³³*The Windsor and Eton Express*, 1 July, 1905, p. 6. *Lock to Lock Times*, 14 July, 1888, p. 7.

⁶³⁴For a detailed discussion of this painting, see Lisa Tickner, 'Messing About in Boats: E. J. Gregory's *Boulter's Lock, Sunday Afternoon*', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2002), pp. 3-28.

⁶³⁵*The Graphic*, 18 September, 1897, p. 389. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 15 May, 1897, p. 413. A few years later, the painter and illustrator Mortimer Menpes also recorded the scene at Boulter's Lock – see Mortimer Menpes and G. E. Mitton, *The Thames*, London: A & C Black, 1906, p. 128.

⁶³⁶Jerome K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat (To Say Nothing of the Dog)*, Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1889, pp. 287-288.

reproduced in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* three years earlier.⁶³⁷ (Figures 4.10 and 4.11) Nicholls photographed Boulter's Lock many times, returning year after year to capture the familiar scene.⁶³⁸ He brought to the subject his own unique personal vision, skill and sensitivity, creating a series of atmospheric, beautifully-composed images. However, it must also be recognised that he was not the first, and certainly not the only, photographer to capture the scene.⁶³⁹

Nicholls' photographs of major sporting events such as Henley and Ascot fell into two overlapping categories of journalistic photographs - described at the time as 'matters of datal interest' and 'current events'.⁶⁴⁰ Many photographs of annual events were published in magazines that were issued on the day, or even shortly before the event occurred, meaning that editors had no option but to use photographs that had been taken the previous year.⁶⁴¹ For photographs that related specifically to that year's sporting competition that was not, of course, an acceptable option. In these cases, photographs were published as soon as possible after the event had taken place. For example, Nicholls' photograph of Christ's College Cambridge winning the Thames Challenge Cup at Henley on 6 July, 1906 was published in *The Sphere* the following week.⁶⁴² Since Nicholls concentrated primarily on the social rather than the sporting aspects of these events, however, he was also able to submit generic, non-date specific, photographs for publication that he had taken in previous years. When

⁶³⁷ National Archives COPY 1/475/25 'Photograph (horizontal) of Boulter's Lock' and 'In Boulter's Lock', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 29 June, 1901, p. 709.

⁶³⁸ See, for example, *The Sphere*, 30 June, 1906, p. 295. *The Graphic*, 29 June, 1907, p. 950, *The Tatler*, 17 June, 1908, *The Bystander*, 16 June, 1909, p. 563. Because they are so similar, it is very difficult to date Nicholls' photographs of Boulter's Lock accurately. Some photographers took advantage of the unchanging nature of the scene to submit photographs that they had taken in previous years. The caption which accompanies Nicholls' photograph of Boulter's Lock which appeared in *The Sphere* in June 1906, stresses that: 'This picture was taken on Sunday by Mr. Nicholls, who did such brilliant work during the war. Some of the daily papers have published pictures of last year's scenes.' 'The Lively Scene at Boulter's Lock', *The Sphere*, 30 June, 1906, p. 295. Nicholls, however, should not be regarded as occupying the moral high-ground on this issue. He too, was sometimes guilty of presenting photographs as topical that had, in fact, been taken earlier. See, for example, his photograph of bathers enjoying 'Bank Holiday Fun' that appeared in *The Daily Mirror* on 5 August, 1913, p. 8. This photograph was taken two years earlier – see Nicholls family album for 1911.

⁶³⁹ Other photographers who photographed Boulter's Lock at around this time include, W. A. Rouch (*The Graphic*, 8 July, 1905, p. 7) and Percy Levi (*The Tatler*, 12 July, 1905, p. 46).

⁶⁴⁰ Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁴¹ Since most of these events, such as traditional customs or civic ceremonies, did not change significantly from year to year this was seen as an acceptable practice. Most magazines stated that these photographs had been taken the previous year but this was by no means always the case.

⁶⁴² *The Sphere*, 14 July, 1906, p. 31.

he was at Henley in July 1906, for example, Nicholls also photographed the scene at the station as crowds of spectators, dressed in their finery, disembarked from a train. This photograph was published in *The Tatler*, the following week.⁶⁴³ Two years later, the same photograph was published by *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* to illustrate that year's Henley Regatta.⁶⁴⁴

As with his photographs of Boulter's Lock, it is important to note that Nicholls was not the first or the only photographer to capture major sporting events for the Edwardian illustrated press. Photographs of Henley Regatta had been published since the early 1890s.⁶⁴⁵ Similarly, since the 1890s, magazines had regularly published photographs of crowd scenes at Ascot and The Derby.⁶⁴⁶ The subjects that Nicholls photographed were also recorded by other contemporary journalistic photographers, sometimes resulting in strikingly similar images.⁶⁴⁷ Occasionally, several photographers would capture the same event, on the same day, from exactly the same viewpoint. Compare, for example, the photograph of the crowd in the paddock at Ascot on Cup Day, credited to Dixon, published in *The Bystander* on 26 June, 1907, with the photograph of the same scene taken by Nicholls that was published in *The Graphic* three days later.⁶⁴⁸ (Figures 4.12 and 4.13)

⁶⁴³ 'The Social Side of Henley', *The Tatler*, 11 July, 1906, p. 20.

⁶⁴⁴ For a history of Henley Regatta, see Richard Burnell, *Henley Royal Regatta: A Celebration of 150 Years*, London: William Heinemann, 1989. In 1906 the Great Western Railway conveyed 31,000 passengers to the Regatta (Burnell, p. 114). 'Henley Station on a Regatta Day', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 4 July, 1908, p. 723. Because they differ so little each year, it is very hard to date Nicholls' photographs of events such as Henley Regatta accurately. In *The Golden Summer*, this photograph is erroneously dated 1907. Burnell also reproduces this photograph, not credited to Nicholls, with the wrong date of 1907 (Burnell, plate 20.)

⁶⁴⁵ See, for example, *The Sketch*, 5 July, 1893, p. 522.

⁶⁴⁶ See, for example, 'At Ascot – A Group of Coaches', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 29 June, 1895, p. 636 and 'Snapshots at the Derby', *The Sketch*, 7 June, 1893, p. 286.

⁶⁴⁷ Compare, for example, Nicholls' photographs of fashionable race-goers at Ascot with those taken by the Fleet Street-based photographers Baker and Muggerridge whose images appeared regularly in *The Bystander* – see 'Well-known Sportsmen at the Derby', *The Bystander*, 6 June, 1906, p. 473 and 'Scenes at a Very Sunny Ascot', *The Bystander*, 27 June, 1906, p. 629.

⁶⁴⁸ 'At Royal Ascot: The Crowd in the Paddock on Cup Day', *The Bystander*, 26 June, 1907, p. 652. 'Dixon' is probably Montague Dixon & Co. 'Fashion at Ascot: The Crowd in the Paddock on Cup Day', *The Graphic*, 29 June, 1907, p. 945. For a history of Edwardian Ascot, see Sean Magee, *Ascot: The History*, London: Methuen, 2002, pp. 126-157. Compare also, a photograph of race-goers asleep on a grass verge at Epsom, supplied by the Sport and General press agency, published in *Badminton* magazine in 1913 (13 June, p. 660) with a photograph of the same scene taken by Nicholls two years earlier (RPS 2003-5001_0002_26573).

Nicholls photographed 'The Season' up to the outbreak of the First World War, returning each year to Ascot, Epsom and Henley.⁶⁴⁹ These photographs constitute his best-known journalistic images and are the basis for his reputation as a pioneering photojournalist. However, they form only a relatively small part of his total oeuvre. The Season lasted only for a few months -from May to August. In order to make a living Nicholls had to find other subjects to photograph during the rest of the year. Covering a wide variety of subjects and locations, Nicholls' work falls broadly into the categories of press photographs described by one contemporary authority as:

...the class of work adapted for use in weekly papers and magazines...that can be used at leisure by various magazines... They may illustrate tours, travel in out of the way places, various forms of sport and pastime, persons and places of interest, architecture, curiosities and so forth...there is also limited opening for work of a purely pictorial character.⁶⁵⁰

Many of Nicholls' photographs are works 'of a purely pictorial character' that could be used 'at leisure by various magazines'. Despite Buckland's claim that: 'Nicholls' genius as a freelance photojournalist was to never lose sight of the principle that every picture needed an angle, and normally a topical one, in order to sell', it is difficult to discern any element of 'newsworthiness' in most of these images.⁶⁵¹ Their topicality was often based purely on their seasonal specificity. As well as photographing 'The Season', Nicholls produced many photographs of 'the seasons', that may best be described as 'pictures'. Nicholls' 'genius' was to realise that there was a ready market for these photographs. Commercially, they had two advantages; since they were designed to be viewed carefully, as artistic productions, they were usually reproduced as full-page images. In addition, since they were season-specific rather than date-specific, they could be used for many years after they were taken. To reflect their status as 'art' rather than 'news', these photographs were usually

⁶⁴⁹ Nicholls did not photograph these events again after the War.

⁶⁵⁰ 'Press Photography', in Bernard E. Jones (ed), *Cassell's Cyclopaedia of Photography*, London: Cassell and Company, 1911, p. 438.

⁶⁵¹ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 129.

captioned as a 'study', 'camera study' or 'photographic study', rather than simply a 'photograph'.⁶⁵²

Many of Nicholls' photographs were given seasonal captions, for example, *When Spring Unlocks the Flowers*, *Gay Evidence of Summer*, *By a Highland Stream in Autumn* and *Some Winter Sights and Scenes*.⁶⁵³ Other photographs depicted typical seasonal activities such as sowing, harvesting, sea-bathing, ice-skating and opening Christmas presents. Some were nature studies or landscape photographs, their commercial value depending solely on their aesthetic quality rather than any claims to topicality or newsworthiness. While they form the majority of his output and were a key part of his commercial success, these pictorial images have been largely ignored by those who have constructed Nicholls' posthumous reputation primarily around his 'journalistic' photography.⁶⁵⁴ Nicholls' motive for taking these photographs, however, was clearly not just financial. For Nicholls, they represented the clearest expression of his artistic creativity and sensibility, confirming his status as a 'Press Photo Artist', rather than a run-of-the-mill press photographer.⁶⁵⁵

Horace learned photography from his father. He would not only have been taught the mechanics of the medium but, importantly, Arthur would also have instilled in his son a sense of photography's creative potential. As an artist, Arthur Nicholls painted on photographs.⁶⁵⁶ He also realised that photographs can be manipulated to create an alternative view of reality.

⁶⁵² I have found over 70 instances of Nicholls' photographs being captioned as 'studies' – see appendix.

⁶⁵³ 'When Spring Unlocks the Flowers', *The Graphic*, 17 April, 1909, p. 505. 'Virgin's Bower, otherwise Clematis, Gay Evidence of Summer', *The Bystander*, 6 July, 1910, p.33. 'By a Highland Stream in Autumn', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 11 September, 1909, p. 68. 'Some Winter Sights and Scenes', *Fry's Magazine*, December, 1912, p. 313. Nicholls used his seasonal photographs to create two maquettes for calendars, possibly with a view towards commercial production. These are now in the Nicholls' family archive.

⁶⁵⁴ Buckland describes Nicholls' 'studies' as 'sometimes hackneyed, but often quite stunning' (*The Golden Summer*, p. 128). None of them are reproduced in her book.

⁶⁵⁵ Nicholls created at least two book maquettes using a selection of his pictorial images – *Beautiful Bridges of Britain* and *Trees in Winter*. These are now in the Nicholls family archive. They may have been made purely for his personal satisfaction or possibly with a view towards publication.

⁶⁵⁶ Horace Nicholls also painted on his photographs. Direct half-tone reproductions of photographs produced results that were regarded as unsatisfactory. Prints were routinely extensively retouched to increase their contrast. Many of Nicholls' prints exhibit extensive retouching. For a discussion of the various stages associated with retouching, see Beegan, *The Mass Image*, pp. 177-185.

When Arthur Nicholls opened his first photographic studio in Cambridge in August 1865, as well as 'ordinary' *cartes de visite*, he also offered 'binographic' portraits, created by combining images from two separate negatives: 'This new and amusing form of Photography consists in taking two...distinct positions of the same person on one Carte de Visite'.⁶⁵⁷ (Figure 4.14) Arthur Nicholls did not, of course, invent the technique of combination printing; neither was he the first photographer to use it to create novelty portraits.⁶⁵⁸ He did, however, embrace the technique and attempted to refine and improve it:

...having a very difficult combination picture to make for a customer about two years since, I was induced to put on my "considering cap" and try and bring out a process that would meet my requirements.⁶⁵⁹

Arthur Nicholls carried on producing binographic portraits for over thirty years. When he opened what would be his last studio, in Reading, in 1897, his advertisements drew attention to his 'most remarkable Binographic Portraits or Doubles':⁶⁶⁰

Mr. Nicholls...claims to have discovered how to do the impossible, and further that nobody can do it but himself. He calls his discovery "binographic" photographs, which, being interpreted, means that any of his subjects appear in an indefinite number of attitudes and occupations on the same plate.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ Advertisement in *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 26 August, 1865, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁸ While he did not invent the technique, Oscar Rejlander is regarded as the pioneer and one of the greatest exponents of combination printing. See *Oscar Gustave Rejlander*, Stockholm, Moderna Museet, 1998. Binographic *cartes de visite* first appeared in 1865: 'The new and amusing form of photography, which consists in doubling a portrait in one and the same picture...By a simple adjustment of the photographic camera any subject can be made to appear in two distinct positions, and yet be the same. An actor in private dress, for example, is seen standing by the side of himself in the costume of one of his best-known characters'. *Western-super-Mare Gazette*, 5 August, 1865, p. 7. A number of studios seem to have introduced the format at the same time. Cambridge Local Studies Library has a macabre example of one of Arthur Nicholls' binographic *cartes*, revealing, perhaps his dark sense of humour. It shows a man apparently in the middle of the act of hanging himself. (Neg 78/31/25A).

⁶⁵⁹ A. Nicholls, 'A New Method of Combination Printing', *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1874, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁶⁰ Advertisement in *The Reading Mercury*, 29 May, 1897, p. 1.

⁶⁶¹ *The Reading Mercury*, 12 June, 1897, p. 5. There are examples of Arthur Nicholls' binographic photographs in the Nicholls family archive.

While Horace Nicholls shared his father's willingness to manipulate photographs for artistic effect, he chose to use a different, and arguably simpler, technique – photomontage.⁶⁶²

The simplest but least successful method consists of merely cutting out the different portions and, after sticking them in position either on another photograph or on a plain card, the surrounding or connecting parts are carefully painted and stippled in. From this a copy negative is made, and printed from as usual. This method is only of use in the hands of one having a good knowledge of drawing and retouching, owing to the large amount of handwork entailed... The necessity for copying, and its accompanying loss of detail and gradation, are also serious drawbacks for ordinary work; although for process reproduction this makes no difference comparatively.⁶⁶³

Since Nicholls had 'a good knowledge of drawing and retouching' and his photographs were intended for 'process reproduction' he embraced photomontage and used the technique extensively. Years later, he explained why:

Sometimes when you have made a series of negatives of one subject there will be found among them views which have little interest when seen separately, but which, if carefully assembled, by using a portion of one and a portion of another, can be made to produce a striking result...The combination can be of any number of photographs, according to the result you want...feeling that if I was a painter I could take the licence of introducing into my picture what I could see to the right or the left, I resolved to take similar licence with my photographs...⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶² At the time, Nicholls would not have recognised the term 'photomontage'. The word did not come into usage until after the First World War, when the Berlin Dadaists invented it, needing a name to describe their technique of introducing photographs into their works. See, Dawn Ades, *Photomontage*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

⁶⁶³ 'Combination Pictures', in Paul N. Hasluck (ed), *The Book of Photography: Practical, Theoretic & Applied*, London: Cassell and Company, 1907, p. 158.

⁶⁶⁴ Horace W. Nicholls, 'Derby Day 25 Years Ago', *Kodak Magazine*, Vol. 12, No 6, June 1934, pp. 150-151.

In citing artistic licence, Nicholls was echoing the stance of the *Art Journal* nearly 80 years earlier, which, defending Rejlander's use of combination printing, felt that:

...the photographer artist does no more than the Royal Academician does: he makes each figure an individual study, and he groups those separate 'negatives' together, to form a complete positive picture.⁶⁶⁵

Using photomontage made commercial as well artistic sense; it enabled Nicholls to create new photographs by pasting together elements of photographs that had already been published. In 1914, for example, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* published Nicholls' study, *The Landing Steps of the Royal Yacht Squadron, Cowes*.⁶⁶⁶ To create this photomontage, Nicholls combined elements of a photograph which had been published in *The Bystander* in 1909 with another photograph which had been published in *Badminton Magazine* in 1912.⁶⁶⁷ (Figures 4.15, 4.16 and 4.17)

Nicholls was able to 'improve' his pictures by changing a background or adding extra elements:

An old English mole-catcher is inserted into different backgrounds to become a wood-gatherer in the French Alps or a shepherd tending his flock on an English upland. Through paste and scissors a group of Dutch girls sitting on a wood-pile are transported to a more photogenic location with a windmill.⁶⁶⁸

In one of his best-known and most frequently reproduced photomontages, Nicholls turned Epsom racecourse on a rainy day into a sea of umbrellas by cutting out strips of umbrellas and filling the empty spaces in one of his photographs with them.⁶⁶⁹ It is testament to Nicholls' skill, or, more likely, to some people's enduring belief in

⁶⁶⁵ The *Art Journal*, quoted in Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974, p. 109.

⁶⁶⁶ *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 1 August, 1914, p. 989.

⁶⁶⁷ *The Bystander*, 11 August, 1909, p. 289. *Badminton Magazine*, August, 1912, p. 129.

⁶⁶⁸ Brian Coe, 'Horace Nicholls: Pioneer Photojournalist', *The Photographic Journal*, February, 1989, p. 66.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Derby Day: Some Contrasts – A Wet Day', *Badminton Magazine*, June 1911, p. 619. For a discussion of this montage, see Mia Fineman, *Faking It: Manipulated Photography before Photoshop*, Yale: Yale University Press, 2012, p. 142-143. Also, Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, pp. 130-131 and Roberts, *Photogenic*, pp. 100-101. For a history of visual representations of The Derby, including Nicholls' photographs, see Patricia Connor and Lionel Lambourne, *Derby Day 200*, London: The Royal Academy of Arts, 1979.

photography's verisimilitude, that this photograph is still occasionally being reproduced as a documentary record.⁶⁷⁰

Many of Nicholls' photographs of major sporting and social events such as the Derby or Henley Regatta can be said to have 'data significance'. These events, however, could be anticipated and were largely unchanging from year to year. While they had temporal significance, they should not be regarded as 'news'. While Nicholls may have accepted the description of 'journalistic photographer', he would not have viewed himself as a 'news photographer'. There are a few instances, however, when Nicholls did photograph events that were unpredictable and clearly fell into the category of 'news'.

Nicholls' use of photomontage to create images of historically important events raises questions regarding art, artifice and the tension between the documentary and pictorial aesthetic which it is important to consider from the perspective of contemporary viewers.

The most significant news event photographed by Nicholls was that which marked the end of the Edwardian era, the funeral of King Edward VII. Following the King's death, on 6 May, 1910, Nicholls used his acquaintance with Prince Christian, the late King's brother-in-law, to secure permission to photograph the funeral procession as it entered the grounds of Windsor Castle.⁶⁷¹ One of Nicholls' photographs taken that day was published in *The Illustrated London News* entitled *The Final Home-Coming: The Entry into Windsor Castle*.⁶⁷² (Figure 4.18) The caption describes how:

The gun-carriage drawn by sailors, the brilliant uniforms and the glittering decorations of the mourners, with, in the background, the grey historic stones of Windsor Castle, made a picture that will live long in the memory of those who saw it.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷⁰ See, for example, George Plumptre, *The Fast Set: The World of Edwardian Racing*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1985, p. 143.

⁶⁷¹ 'The bearer, Mr. Horace Nicholls, has permission to enter the Strand in the Long Walk of Windsor Park to take a photograph of the funeral procession'. Letter to Nicholls from Captain Cyril Hankey, Prince Christian's equerry, dated 19 May, 1910, Nicholls' family archive. Prince and Princess Christian had been patrons of Nicholls' lantern lecture 'Fresh from the Front'.

⁶⁷² *The Illustrated London News*, 28 May, 1910, p. 838.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*

It would have been impossible, however, for anyone to have viewed the scene that Nicholls photographed since it is a composite, created from photographs taken from two different viewpoints.⁶⁷⁴ (Figures 4.19 and 4.20) The caption makes no reference to this. Was Nicholls actively trying to deceive people? Did Nicholls possess ‘a nuanced understanding of photography’s inherently malleable truth value’?⁶⁷⁵ Or was it simply the case that, as Buckland observes, ‘Nicholls frequently made photomontages, but was inconsistent about mentioning the fact in the caption’.⁶⁷⁶ In fact, Nicholls was consistent in that he almost never stated when his photographs were composite images.⁶⁷⁷ Neither Nicholls nor the magazines that used his photographs stated that they were constructed images because, at the time, this was not considered to be relevant or important. As Beegan has observed:

Photographers who worked for the press constructed images with expectations of what their employers required in terms of content and style. These photographs were created within the existing reporting practices of the illustrated magazine, and, as such, they aimed to produce a meaningful representation of an event rather than “capture” a fragment of reality.⁶⁷⁸

Illustrated journalism was still in a period of transition. The issue of *The Illustrated London News* which reported on Edward VII’s funeral contained as many drawings of the event as photographs. It is revealing to compare Nicholls’ photograph of the funeral procession making its way towards Windsor Castle, which he used as the background for *The Final Home-Coming*, with the drawing of the same scene by the magazine’s special artist which appeared on the previous page of the magazine.⁶⁷⁹ (Figure 4.21) Nicholls was simply doing what artists had always done, altering,

⁶⁷⁴ RPS 2003-5001_0002_27805 and RPS 2003-5001_0002_27806.

⁶⁷⁵ Fineman, *Faking It*, p. 242.

⁶⁷⁶ Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 129.

⁶⁷⁷ I have only found one example where Nicholls’ photograph is captioned as a ‘Composite Photograph’. ‘Revived with the Kiss of the Sea’, *The Bystander*, 20 July, 1910, p. 127.

⁶⁷⁸ Beegan, *The Mass Image*, pp. 164-165.

⁶⁷⁹ RPS 2003-5001_0002_27806. ‘Eton and His Late Majesty: Boys of the World-Famous College Witnessing the Last Progress of King Edward’, *The Illustrated London News*, 28 May, 1910, p. 837. The artist was George Soper.

adding and combining various elements of a scene to create a more dramatic and aesthetically pleasing composition.⁶⁸⁰

Nicholls' photography was not confined to purely domestic subjects and events. As a young man, Nicholls had travelled extensively, working in both South America and Southern Africa. Following his return to Britain, Nicholls continued to travel abroad frequently, albeit now to less far-flung destinations in Europe and North Africa.

Nicholls did not travel without a purpose. His primary motive was to secure photographs that would sell. However, if he could combine business with pleasure, then, so much the better.⁶⁸¹ Nicholls was not bound by any 'exclusive' contracts with publishers and could sell his photographs to a range of magazines. It is likely that he discussed his travel plans with editors beforehand to ensure that there would be sufficient interest in the photographs he brought back to defray his travel and accommodation expenses.⁶⁸²

Nicholls' foreign travel before the First World War can be grouped into three broad categories. Firstly - journeys undertaken as an extension of the domestic social season. Secondly – travel as a means of acquiring picturesque scenes and tableaux. Thirdly – journeys undertaken as a response to a specific commission.

The Edwardians considered the French Riviera to be their winter playground. During the 'Riviera Season', which reached its high-point in January with the Carnival in Nice, resorts such as Menton, Nice and Monte Carlo were filled with wealthy British visitors who had fled the cold weather at home to enjoy the sunshine and myriad

⁶⁸⁰ He was, in effect, doing in reverse, what special artists had done earlier with some of his photographs – using them as the basis for their own artistic interpretation. See, for example, RPS 2003-5001_0002_27543. See 'The Transvaal Crisis: Removing gold from the National Bank, Johannesburg', *Black and White*, 7 October, 1899, p. 1. 'Drawn by Hal Hurst from materials supplied by H. W. Nicholls, Johannesburg'. Also, 'The Transvaal Crisis: Despatching gold from the National Bank of Johannesburg to catch the Cape mail', *The Graphic*, 7 October, 1899, p. 480. 'Drawn by H. M. Paget. From a photograph by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg'.

⁶⁸¹ There is evidence that Nicholls often travelled with other members of his family. In 1910 Nicholls visited Monte Carlo. That November, Windsor Camera Club held an exhibition at the Royal Albert Institute. One of the exhibits was 'a charming study in Monte Carlo', taken by Nicholls' brother-in-law, Sidney Holderness. *The Windsor and Eton Express*, 3 December, 1910, p. 3.

⁶⁸² In 1910, for example, a return ticket by train from London to Monte Carlo cost £9 12s first class and £6 12s second class. *The Stage*, 15 December, 1910, p. 14.

pleasures of the Cote d'Azur.⁶⁸³ Nicholls first visited the French Riviera in 1908, returning several times over the next few years.⁶⁸⁴

While some British migrated south in winter to escape the cold, others travelled in search of snow. The early years of the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable growth in the popularity of winter sports, with the British leading the way.⁶⁸⁵ In 1903 the Ski Club of Great Britain was founded, followed five years later by the Alpine Ski Club.⁶⁸⁶ The arrival of mountain railways opened up the Alps to tourism and saw the development of resorts such as Chamonix, near Mont Blanc, and winter sports holiday packages being offered by Thomas Cook and Henry Lunn. In January 1909 a 'great winter sports week' was held at Chamonix which Nicholls attended, photographing skiers, skaters and tobogganists in action.⁶⁸⁷ The winter sports season soon became a popular alternative to the Riviera for those who wanted a more active and adventurous holiday. Nicholls returned to Chamonix several times before the First World War.⁶⁸⁸

Nicholls' trips to Chamonix and the Riviera can be viewed as a logical extension of his photography of the British social and sporting season. The people who skied at Chamonix or strolled down the Promenade des Anglais in Nice were essentially the same as those who went to Ascot or Henley. Other foreign trips that Nicholls made

⁶⁸³ For the history of British visitors to the French Riviera see Patrick Howarth, *When the Riviera Was Ours*, London: Routledge, 1977 and John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

⁶⁸⁴ Nicholls' family albums show that he definitely travelled to the Riviera in 1908, 1910 and 1912. His photographs taken there appear in the illustrated press every year. Some of these photographs, however, had been taken on previous visits. In 1913, for example, seven of Nicholls' photographs were used to illustrate an article on the Riviera in *The Patrician* magazine. Some of these had been taken during his first visit there five years earlier. J. D. Loveland, 'The Riviera', *The Patrician*, October, 1913, pp. 18-29.

⁶⁸⁵ For the British love of climbing and winter sports and their impact on the Alps, see Jim Ring, *How the English Made the Alps*, London: John Murray, 2000.

⁶⁸⁶ The first president of the Alpine Ski Club was Sir Martin Conway who was to become the first Director of the Imperial War Museum.

⁶⁸⁷ The South Eastern and Chatham Railway offered cheap return train tickets to Chamonix for the event – £6 6s 7d, first class and £4 5s 9d, second class. *The London Evening Standard*, 13 January, 1909, p. 9.

⁶⁸⁸ The winter sports season coincided with the Riviera Season and Nicholls was unable to attend both. He seems to have visited Chamonix and the Riviera on alternate years – Chamonix in 1909, 1911, 1913 and 1914. Nicholls took his family along. His daughter Gertrude first visited in 1913 and became an enthusiastic skier. As with the Riviera, Nicholls' earlier photographs of winter sports appeared in the press on the years that he did not travel to the Alps. His photograph of three ice skaters which appeared in the *The Bystander* in 1910, for example, was taken the previous year – *The Bystander*, 2 February, 1910, pp. 234-235, Nicholls family album for 1909.

at this time, however, whilst still providing him with photographs that he could sell, were undertaken for artistic rather than topical motives.⁶⁸⁹ Just as Nicholls' photographs of the South African War had drawn on his familiarity with the paintings of Lady Butler and Richard Caton Woodville, Nicholls' genre photographs taken at this time reflect the work of painters such as Stanhope Forbes. It is revealing, for example, to compare Nicholls' photograph of an old mole-catcher, taken in 1909, with Stanhope Forbes' painting, *The Woodman*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1905.⁶⁹⁰ (Figures 4.22 and 4.23)

In 1909, and again the following year, Nicholls travelled to Holland where he visited the fishing village of Volendam. With its picturesque harbour filled with fishing boats and its inhabitants dressed in traditional costume, Volendam was a magnet for artists.⁶⁹¹

At Volendam, within nine or ten miles of Amsterdam, one finds all that stands for Holland concentrated, as all Dutch towns are, into one square mile by the Zuider Zee. Nowhere...do the people live the simple life so picturesquely...

During the first day or two of one's visit to Volendam, at every corner of the devious streets and waterways, one happens on figure studies and groups – "Tableaux Vivants".⁶⁹²

Artists were ubiquitous and many of the locals augmented their incomes by posing as models:

⁶⁸⁹ Magazine readers clearly regarded these images as artistic rather than topical. A contemporary review of an issue of *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* which contained two of Nicholls' 'studies' opined: 'The two studies "Afloat" and "Ashore" by H. W. Nicholls are most artistic'. 'Weekly Illustrated Newspapers', *The Belfast News-Letter*, 14 November, 1910, p. 6. The two studies referred to appeared in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 12 November, 1910, p. 449. It is interesting to note the extensive amount of retouching that Nicholls did on these prints to prepare them for reproduction – print in Nicholls family archive.

⁶⁹⁰ 'Mr. Stanhope A. Forbes has a fine study of an old man with a bundle of sticks on his shoulder. He calls it the woodman. It is so good that one fears lest Mr. Stanhope Forbes should before long turn out to be a painter of portraits'. 'The Royal Academy,' *Eastern Daily Press*, 2 May, 1905, p. 8.

⁶⁹¹ For a survey of artists who have worked in Volendam, see Brian Dudley Barrett, *Volendam: Kunstenaarschappaan de Zuiderzee*, Enkhuisen: Zuiderzeemuseum, 2009. British artists who have painted there include, Edward Burne-Jones, George Clausen, Stanhope Forbes, Phil May and Tom Browne, amongst others.

⁶⁹² Charles E. Dawson, 'Holland, Health and Happiness', *The Magazine of Commerce*, May, 1906, quoted in *The Manchester Courier*, 11 May, 1906, p. 2.

Quite a thriving trade is done by the fisher folk who pose as models for the artists, especially by the children, who ask but small payment, and are always lying in wait for new-comers...Owing to their calm, pleasant temperament the Dutch make excellent models, particularly the fishermen, whose favourite attitude is that of squatting on their heels, smoking or chewing tobacco, hands plunged deep into their baggy trouser pockets, and eyes fixed on space with the abstracted gaze of an opium eater.⁶⁹³

Photographers, too, had discovered the delights of Volendam. In April 1906, Arthur Marshall delivered a lantern lecture entitled *Some Dutch Places and People* to a meeting of the Royal Photographic Society:

Dealing with Volendam, Mr. Marshall said that he always found it best in this quaintest of places to hire models and pose them where he wished; a model would pose all day long for one gulder...a large proportion of the slides shown were character studies of the people, and pictures of boys, girls, maidens, men and women were shown and their characteristics well illustrated.⁶⁹⁴

Nicholls took full advantage of the photogenic locals, taking many carefully posed tableaux that he sold to, amongst others, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, *The Graphic*, and *The Sphere*.⁶⁹⁵ Dressed in their traditional costume, Volendamers appeared timeless; Nicholls found a market for these photographs for years to come.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹³Jane Quigley, 'Volendam as a Sketching Ground for Painters', *The Studio*, Vol. 38, 1906, pp. 118-125.

⁶⁹⁴ Lantern Lecture – 'Some Dutch Places and People' by Arthur Marshall, *The Photographic Journal*, May, 1907, pp. 237-239. One of Marshall's photographs, *Brothers and Sisters: A Dutch Quartette*, was reproduced in *The Graphic* on 11 December, 1909, p. 817. Photographs taken at Volendam were also shown in the Photographic Society's Annual Exhibitions in 1908 and 1909.

⁶⁹⁵ For examples, see 'A Chilly Washing Day in Volendam', *The Graphic*, 27 March, 1909, p. 397. 'Volendamers', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 1 May, 1909, p. 325. 'We are Seven – Little Maidens of the Zuyder Zee', *The Sphere*, 5 October, 1912, pp. 20-21. It is interesting to compare Nicholls' carefully posed tableaux taken in Volendam with the candid snapshots of local people he took in Goes in May 1911 where he had travelled with his son, George, who was on his way to Germany to study – see Nicholls family album for 1911.

⁶⁹⁶ See, for example, 'The Connoisseur: A scene in the harbour at Volendam', *The Bystander*, 17 May, 1922, p. 440, which had been taken in 1909. While topicality was not a criterion when Nicholls took these photographs, they became newsworthy by tenuous association in 1911 when events in Holland dominated the news for a short time. Dutch plans to fortify the port of Flushing (Vlissingen) were seen as pro-German and a

In January 1911, Nicholls joined a small group of journalists from British, French and Spanish newspapers on the inaugural journey of the Morocco Express from Paris to Tangiers, paid for by the railway company to promote their new service. Other members of the group included a Mr. Brain, from *The Times*, A. R. Bonnat, from the *Correspondencia de Espana* and Regis Gignoux, of *Le Figaro*.⁶⁹⁷ (Figure 4.24) Nicholls was the only photographer invited – confirming his reputation, perhaps, but also reflecting the fact that as a freelance, unattached to any publication, he would be able to supply his images to a range of magazines. The express train left Paris on Monday 16th at noon, arriving in Algeciras two days later at 2-00pm, with a boat connection to Tangiers the following morning, arriving at 10.00am. *En route*, Nicholls photographed at Barcelona, Seville, Ronda, Algeciras, and Gibraltar.⁶⁹⁸ Since Nicholls was the only photographer in the group, his photographs were also used by the French magazine, *L'illustration*.⁶⁹⁹

Following his return to Britain, Nicholls seems to have entered into an agreement with *The Bystander* for the exclusive use of his photographs taken in Tangiers. His photograph of Thomas Macnamara, Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty, pictured at a Tangiers street market, is captioned 'Photographed at Tangier last week specially for The Bystander by Horace W. Nicholls'.⁷⁰⁰ Nicholls was fortunate that a few months after he visited, Morocco became the scene of an international crisis. As a result of the 'Agadir Incident', when French and German interests

threat to British interests. Nicholls sold a portrait of a young Dutch girl he had taken in Volendam, to *The Bystander* who published it with the caption 'Miss Flushing Fortified – by an irresistible smile: A Dutch quayside study of topical interest by Horace W. Nicholls'. *The Bystander*, 1 February, 1911, p. 237.

⁶⁹⁷ 'The New Morocco Express', *The Times*, 25 January 1911, p. 12. 'Le Maroc-Express', *Le Figaro*, 26 January 1911, p. 1. 'Notas de un Viaje', *El Correspondencia de Espana*, 18 January, 1911.

⁶⁹⁸ See Nicholls family album for 1911. Also, 'On the Route of the Morocco Express: Pastoral Amidst Progress', *The Illustrated London News*, 4 February, 1911, p. 169.

⁶⁹⁹ *L'illustration*, April, 1911, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁰⁰ *The Bystander*, 1 February, 1911, p. 207. Nicholls' photographs of Tangiers also appeared in *The Bystander* on 8 February, p. 283 and p. 286. This is one of the few occasions I have been able to find where Nicholls' work is associated with a particular magazine. Nicholls seems to have had a particularly good relationship with *The Bystander* which used his work extensively (over 30 times in 1911 alone). In June 1911, Nicholls' photograph of a scene at George V's Coronation which appeared in *The Bystander* was captioned: "Photographed exclusively for The Bystander by H. W. Nicholls'. The only other similar reference I have been able to find is in early 1909, when Nicholls was described by *The Graphic* as 'Our Special Photographer' (*The Graphic*, 27 March, 1909, p. 397).

clashed, briefly threatening war, Nicholls' recently-taken photographs took on a new-found topicality and enjoyed a brief renaissance.⁷⁰¹

While Nicholls' primary source of income was selling photographs to the illustrated press, he also actively explored other ways of making money through his photography. These included selling large format carbon prints, using his photographs as postcards and book illustrations, and creating photographic advertisements. In all of these cases, Nicholls did not take photographs specifically for one application but sought additional rather than alternative uses for those photographs which he supplied as magazine illustrations.

Following his return from the South African War, Nicholls had sold carbon prints of a selection of his war photographs.⁷⁰² As interest in the war faded, Nicholls published carbon prints of some of his pictorial images that had appeared recently in magazines; for example, 'Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay' and 'We are Seven— Little Maidens of the Zuyder Zee'.⁷⁰³ These were produced as large format (24" by 20") coloured carbon prints, priced at £1, blindstamped in one corner with Nicholls' signature and address. (Figures 4.25, 4.26 and 4.27)

In 1908, the pioneer racing driver and aviator Dorothy Levitt wrote a series of articles on the subject of women and motoring for *The Daily Graphic*. These proved to be so popular that the following year they were edited and published in book form as *The Woman and the Car: A Chatty Little Handbook for the Edwardian Motoriste*.⁷⁰⁴ Levitt's book was illustrated with 28 photographs, 23 of which were taken by Nicholls.⁷⁰⁵ In a series of carefully posed photographs, Nicholls shows an appropriately dressed Levitt performing tasks such as checking the oil level and

⁷⁰¹ See, 'In Turbulent Morocco', *The Bystander*, 10 May, 1911, p. 281, 'Wait and Smile! Morocco's Role in the Diplomatic Drama', *The Bystander*, 9 August, 1911, p. 277 and 'Where Do We Come In?', *The Bystander*, 20 September, 1911, p. 588.

⁷⁰² Catalogue – *Memorable Incidents and Striking Features of the South African Campaign*, Royal Photographic Society Collection.

⁷⁰³ 'Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay', *The Bystander*, 28 September, 1910, pp. 650-651. 'We are Seven – Little Maidens of the Zuyder Zee', *The Sphere*, 5 October, 1912, pp. 20-21. There are examples of these large carbon prints in the Nicholls family archive. 'Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay' was shown at the Windsor Camera Club exhibition held in November 1910 – 'Mr. H. W. Nicholls, the well-known photographer, showed a grand picture entitled "Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay"; it is printed in green carbon, and the lighting of the subject is really wonderful'. *Windsor and Eton Express*, 3 December, 1910, p. 3.

⁷⁰⁴ Dorothy Levitt, *The Woman and the Car: A Chatty Little Handbook for the Edwardian Motoriste*, London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1909.

removing a faulty spark plug. (Figure 4.28) Despite their careful composition, it is difficult to see exactly what Levitt is doing in each photograph and the illustrations are of limited instructional value. It has been argued, persuasively, however, that their function is not simply expository:

...the images are more than illustrations: they are testimonials, visual proof of the author's mechanical abilities and evidence that women could indeed drive and service their own automobiles. Through these photographs Levitt offered women a new way to view themselves in the modern machine age.⁷⁰⁶

The normal method of payment for book illustrations was payment on royalty. The amount of royalty payable was negotiable and dependent on the price of the book, the number of copies sold and the relative importance of text and illustrations. It is not known how much Nicholls was paid for these photographs but for a book such as Levitt's which sold for 2s 6d, a contemporary estimate of the royalty due for illustrations was up to £10 per thousand copies sold.⁷⁰⁷

Another potentially lucrative contemporary source of income for photographers was selling the rights to their work to postcard publishers:

The picture-postcard field has grown so enormously that it needs special discussion. Probably no field has paid better for bright, fresh work, and for attention to the arranging of attractive series of subjects...A short time ago publishers were unable to obtain enough subjects to satisfy the demand, and many alert photographers trebled their yearly incomes by devoting their attention to this class of work.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁵In her introduction, Levitt writes that these photographs 'were specially taken for the work by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls'. Nicholls, however, had taken them at least two years earlier. One of the photographs in the book – 'The Useful Overall' (p. 30) - was reproduced in *The Graphic* on 15 June, 1907, p. 875.

⁷⁰⁶Julie Wosk, *Women and the Machine: Representations from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic Age*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, p. 140. See also Jennifer Shepherd, 'The British Press and Turn-of-the-Century Developments in the Motoring Movement', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4, winter, 2005, pp. 379-391.

⁷⁰⁷Henry Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward, *Photography for the Press* (2nd ed) London: Dawbarn & Ward Ltd, 1905, p. 23.

Nicholls came to postcard illustration relatively late, in 1913. By this time the Edwardian 'Postcard Craze' had abated slightly but postcard publishing was still an enormous industry.⁷⁰⁹Careful choice of subject was essential; Nicholls chose wisely, photographing one of the most popular and photogenic actresses of the day, Gladys Cooper.⁷¹⁰Cooper was a renowned beauty whose images were much in demand by postcard publishers. Over four hundred postcards of her were published between 1905 and 1920.⁷¹¹

Gladys Cooper cards were not so much a craze as an industry, and to this day, as attics and cellars are cleared out and scrapbooks rediscovered, her relatives still regularly get sets of them sent back through the post. G herself took in later life to using them as Christmas cards...gathering up the first hundred or so that came to hand...it is some tribute to her popularity that nobody ever seemed to get the same card twice.⁷¹²

Already a successful stage actress, in 1913 Cooper made her film debut in *The Eleventh Commandment*.⁷¹³ That year, with the money she had saved from her long and successful appearance in the play, *Diplomacy*, Cooper bought a house in Frinton-on-Sea where she spent the summer with her husband, Herbert Buckmaster, and their young daughter.⁷¹⁴

⁷⁰⁸F. J. Mortimer, *Photography for the Press and Photography for Profit*, London: Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd, 1914, p. 64.

⁷⁰⁹ It has been estimated that 6 billion postcards were sent in Britain during the Edwardian period. See Julia Gillen and Nigel Hall, *The Edwardian Postcard: A revolutionary moment in rapid multimodal communications*. <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/189190.pdf> accessed 05/04/2019.

⁷¹⁰ Gladys Cooper's career spanned seven decades on stage, film and television. See *Sewell Stokes, Without Veils: The Intimate Biography of Gladys Cooper*, London: Peter Davies, 1953 and Sheridan Morley, *Gladys Cooper*, London: Heinemann, 1979. (Sheridan Morley was Cooper's grandson. Cooper's daughter, Joan, married Sheridan Morley's father, the actor, Robert Morley.) Cooper published her autobiography in 1931 – Gladys Cooper, *Gladys Cooper*, London: Hutchinson & Co, 1931. Nicholls was amongst very good company. During her long career, Cooper was also photographed by Cecil Beaton, Angus McBean, E. O. Hoppe and Dorothy Wilding.

⁷¹¹ Morley, *Gladys Cooper*, p. 24. For a listing of Gladys Cooper postcards, see <http://www.gladyscooper.com/Postcards/Postcards.html>

⁷¹² Morley, *Gladys Cooper*, p. 26.

⁷¹³*The Eleventh Commandment* was premiered in August 1913. 'Miss Gladys Cooper...was chosen because she is described as England's most beautiful actress. Indeed, at the present moment, I am told, her postcards sell more than those of any other actress on the stage', *The Daily Sketch*, 29 August, 1913, quoted in *The Bioscope*, 11 September, 1913, pp. 816-817.

In August 1913, Nicholls took his family on holiday to Frinton-on-Sea. He took the opportunity to photograph some celebrities who were also holidaying there, including Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the well-known actor, Seymour Hicks, and Hicks' co-star in a forthcoming production, Gladys Cooper.⁷¹⁵

It is not known whether Nicholls went to Frinton-on-Sea for the specific purpose of photographing Gladys Cooper or if she agreed to pose for him after they had met. An astute businesswoman, Cooper was fully aware that her face was her most valuable asset and would have charged Nicholls a fee for the privilege of photographing her.⁷¹⁶ Nicholls took at least twenty portraits of Cooper, along with family group shots and photographs of her with her daughter. Having been a photographic model since the age of six, it was Cooper rather than Nicholls who chose the costumes and poses.⁷¹⁷ A selection of these photographs was subsequently produced as postcards by at least three publishers - Philco Publishing Co., Rotary Photo Co. and James Valentine.⁷¹⁸ (Figures 4.29 and 4.30)

⁷¹⁴ See Cooper, *Gladys Cooper*, p. 99. 'It was a pretty little house, very conveniently-planned, with a nice garden and close to the sea'. The house, named 'The Sign' was in Harold Road, parallel to the Esplanade and just two minutes' walk from the beach. *Kelly's Directory of Essex*, 1914, p. 747. Herbert Buckmaster's chief claim to fame is having the cocktail 'Buck's Fizz' named after him.

⁷¹⁵ 'Sherlock and Seymour by the Seaside', *The Bystander*, 17 September, 1913, p. 599. 'Authors and Actors on Holiday', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 20 September, 1913, p.110. Conan Doyle wrote a letter to *The Times* on 26 August, 1913, giving his current location as Frinton. *The Times*, 27 August, 1913. Seymour Hicks and Gladys Cooper appeared together in *Broadway Jones* which opened at the Theatre Royal in Bradford on 22 September.

⁷¹⁶ A talented actress, Cooper had to work hard to convince people that she was more than just a pretty face: 'we have always seen in Miss Gladys Cooper more than a mere picture postcard loveliness', *The Sporting Times*, 29 March, 1913, p. 14. In 1908, Cooper had arranged an exclusive contract with the studio of Foulsham and Banfield to sit for portraits for them once a month. She claimed that the contract was worth £200 a year. (Morley, *Gladys Cooper*, p. 33). There is no evidence that Nicholls' association with Cooper was anything other than commercial. He is not mentioned in her autobiography.

⁷¹⁷ One of the poses, with Cooper giving her daughter Joan a piggyback, (Rotary A.840-6) is reminiscent of the hugely popular *carte de visite* of Alexandra, then Princess of Wales giving a piggyback to her daughter, Princess Louise, that was taken by W & D Downey in 1868. See The Royal Collection Trust - <https://www.rct.uk/collection/2927796> (accessed 06/04/2019) (At the age of six, Cooper had been taken by her mother to have her photograph taken at the Downey's studio. Cooper, *Gladys Cooper*, pp. 34-36.) It was Cooper rather than Nicholls who would have suggested this pose. About a year earlier, the Rotary Photo Co had published another very similar postcard with Cooper giving a piggyback to a slightly younger Joan (series A. 817-5).

⁷¹⁸ Philco Publishing Co. Series 2897/4, 2898/2, 2892/2, 2900/1 and 2900/2. Rotary Photo Co. series A. 556-1/6 and A.840-1/6. James Valentine series 4371. These photographs are often hand-coloured and are sometimes cropped or reversed. Photographs were usually submitted to publishers as sets of six images: 'Sets of six subjects united by a thread of general interest are generally much more acceptable to the publisher than single subjects', F. J. Mortimer, *Photography for the Press and Photography for Profit*, London: Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd, 1914, p. 65. Usually, the photographer was not credited by the publisher. Nicholls, however, is

The reproduction rights bought by postcard publishers ranged from purchasing full copyright to buying the rights for a limited time period and for postcard publication only. The fees paid for postcard rights varied greatly, according to the level of rights, the cost of the card and its potential volume of sales.⁷¹⁹ For his photographs of Gladys Cooper, Nicholls would have sold postcard publishers the lowest level of reproduction rights since it was important for him to also continue to be able to sell these images to newspapers and magazines.⁷²⁰ In 1914, for example, his photograph of Cooper giving a piggyback to her daughter appeared as both a postcard published by the Rotary Photo Co. and also a cover illustration for both *Woman's Own* and *Home Chat* magazines.⁷²¹ (Figures 4.31 and 4.32) Similarly, a portrait of Cooper wearing a sou'wester was reproduced as both a Rotary postcard and as an illustration in *The Daily Mirror*.⁷²² Nicholls also used some of his photographs of Gladys Cooper to create composite photographs that were published in magazines and also as postcards.⁷²³

There is clear evidence that Nicholls was influenced by images used in advertising. In 1901, Nicholls photographed Queen Victoria's funeral procession as it passed through the streets of Windsor. His photograph of troops lining the route was published subsequently in *The Sphere* magazine.⁷²⁴ On the other side of the page on which Nicholls' photograph appeared there is a full-page advertisement for Cadbury's cocoa, showing a woman looking through the broken protective cover inside a tin of cocoa. (Figure 4.33) Nicholls would have received a complimentary copy of the magazine and this advertisement clearly struck a chord. Ten years later, Nicholls took this image as the inspiration for a series of portraits of his children and

credited on the postcards published by both Rotary and Philco.

⁷¹⁹ F. J. Mortimer suggested a minimum fee of one guinea per card for an edition of two or three thousand cards.

⁷²⁰ Nicholls would have sold the rights to each publisher for postcard publication only for a limited time period. The same photographs sometimes appear on cards produced by three different publishers – for example, Rotary series A.840-2, Valentine series 4371 and Philco series 2900-2.

⁷²¹ Rotary series A.840-6, *Womans Own*, 31 January, 1914, *Home Chat*, 29 August, 1914.

⁷²² Rotary series A.556-2, 'Miss Gladys Cooper's Sou'wester', *The Daily Mirror*, 27 October, 1913, p. 11.

⁷²³ For example, Rotary series A.556-5 was used in a composite photograph published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 'Waiting for the Boats in the Chill December Dawn' (27 December, 1913, p. 777). His composite photograph 'Ready for a Dip – Miss Gladys Cooper', also published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (8 August, 1914, p. 1036), was published as a postcard by Valentines – see Morley, *Gladys Cooper*, p. 88.

⁷²⁴ *The Sphere*, 9 February, 1901, supplement p. ii.

also for a photograph that was used by *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* as the cover image for their Christmas issue.⁷²⁵ (Figure 4.34)

In 1913, when he was in Frinton-on-Sea photographing Gladys Cooper, Nicholls photographed his daughter Gertrude on the beach, dressed as 'The Kodak Girl'.⁷²⁶ He took considerable trouble with the costume and poses, suggesting that he may have intended to sell these photographs to Kodak for advertising purposes. (Figures 4.35 and 4.36) I have been unable to find any evidence that these photographs were used by Kodak.⁷²⁷ At this time, Nicholls did, however, sell his photographs to another well-known manufacturer to be used for their advertisements.

The Edwardian period saw a rapid growth in the use of photography for advertising purposes, with half-tone photographs replacing drawn illustrations:

Such work, one of the most profitable branches of photography at the present time, is one on which exact instruction is almost impossible. It is a business for men with ideas...we draw attention to it here in the belief that some of our readers will find it a source of profit...They have only to look through the illustrated journals to see how greatly the employment of pictorial and photographic advertisements has grown of late.⁷²⁸

The growth in the demand for photographs suitable for advertisements led to some large companies setting up their own photographic departments:

⁷²⁵ See the Nicholls family album for 1911 and 'A Merry Christmas', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 23 December, 1911, p. 753.

⁷²⁶ See the Nicholls family album for 1913. In 1910 a striking new element was introduced into Kodak advertising – The Kodak Girl, wearing her characteristic striped dress. For over 60 years she would be the personification of popular photography in the public imagination. Created by the leading poster artist John Hassell, the first Kodak Girl was based on a photograph taken by Cavendish Morton, who used his wife as the model. See, Colin Harding, 'The Kodak Girl', *Photographica World*, September, 1996, pp. 8-15.

⁷²⁷ There is a negative sleeve in the RPS Collection which has been annotated by Nicholls 'Films made at Frinton for Kodak'. However, it is very unlikely that Kodak used these photographs. I have been unable to find any reference to them in the Kodak Company archives, now held by the British Library. One of these photographs was subsequently published in both *The Sunday Pictorial* (13 August, 1916, p. 16) and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*

(2 June, 1917, p. 383). The captions make no reference to Kodak but by this time the Kodak Girl would have been immediately recognisable to their readers.

⁷²⁸ 'Photographs for Advertising Purposes', *The British Journal of Photography*, 4 January, 1907, pp. 5-6.

So great has been the departure of large advertisers in this direction that a special photographic department has been set aside by firms or their advertising agents to the production of striking and fitting originals. Obviously, that is not the best method of obtaining variety in the output, and firms having such arrangements will accept suitable photographs and designs from outsiders as readily as those who are not so provided.⁷²⁹

The advertising agent played a key role in sourcing suitable photographs.⁷³⁰ The most important advertising agent in Britain at this time was Samuel Herbert Benson.⁷³¹ Benson's main client was Bovril, for whom he was always on the lookout for new advertising images.⁷³² In 1907, Nicholls' photographs of highland cattle grazing in Windsor Great Park appeared in both *The Sphere* and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.⁷³³ Bovril had been using drawn illustrations of highland cattle in their advertisements since the 1890s. It is not known whether Nicholls first contacted Benson, or vice versa, but in January 1909 a full-page advertisement for Bovril appeared in *The Illustrated London News* using a composite image created by Nicholls.⁷³⁴ (Figure 4.37) This photograph was not credited, but other, similar advertisements for Bovril which appeared later in the year were credited to 'S H B' –

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ For the growth of advertising agencies, see T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History*, London: Heinemann, 1982, pp. 99-109.

⁷³¹ S. H. Benson set up in business as an advertising agent in 1893, at the suggestion of John Johnston, the inventor of Bovril meat extract. Benson was the manager of Bovril's newly-established factory in London. Keen to boost sales through advertising, Johnston charged Benson with supervising this task. By the early 1900s S. H. Benson was the biggest advertising agency in Britain, if not the world.

⁷³² For the history of Bovril advertising, see Peter Hadley, *The History of Bovril Advertising*, London: Ambassador Publishing, 1970.

⁷³³ 'The King's Cattle Grazing in Windsor Great Park', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 26 October, 1907, p. 276. 'The King's Highland Cattle Grazing in Windsor Great Park', *The Sphere*, 16 November, 1907, p. 139.

⁷³⁴ 'Bovril Weather', *The Illustrated London News*, 16 January, 1909, p. 101. This composite used his close-up shot of a highland bull in front of a wintry landscape which had been published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* (12 December, 1908, p. 605). The idea of creating a composite photograph would almost certainly have been Nicholls'. In 1907, he had created a similar composite image which was reproduced in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*. 'Highland Cattle – A Scene in Middlesex', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 14 December, 1907, p. 624. One of Bovril's main rivals, Oxo, was critical of their creative use of photography. Their own advertisements, which also featured a photograph of a bull, carried the following caption: 'This picture has not been bought to make an advertisement. It is an enlarged snapshot taken on the OXO cattle farms.' *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 27 November, 1909, p. 527.

Samuel Herbert Benson.⁷³⁵ In May 1909, Nicholls' photograph 'full face of a Bull's head and shoulders' was registered for copyright. Nicholls is stated to be the author of the photograph but the name of the copyright owner is recorded as 'Bovril Limited', Nicholls having sold his rights to the photograph.⁷³⁶ (Figure 4.38)

The period between 1902 and 1914 can be regarded as a distinct transitional period in Nicholls' photographic career – the time when he detached himself fully from studio-based photography to become a successful, independent, journalistic photographer. However, it would be wrong to consider his photography during this period in isolation. Rather, it should be viewed in the context of his photographic career as a whole. Many of the themes Nicholls explored at this time have their origins in his earlier work. Similarly, Nicholls was to carry over many of the working practices that he formulated at this time as a freelance photographer into his subsequent work for the Department of Information during the First World War.

Nicholls' photographs taken at Ascot, Goodwood and Epsom, for example, have their precedents in his stereoscopic photographs taken at Johannesburg racecourse in the late 1890s.⁷³⁷ Another trope is Nicholls' fascination with crowds. His panoramic studies of the crowd at the Peace Thanksgiving Service held in Pretoria at the end of the South African War are echoed in his photographs of crowds at the Derby. In turn, these are mirrored in his photographs of workers at the Royal Army Clothing Department, taken in June, 1918.⁷³⁸ Similarly, Nicholls' posed genre studies taken in Volendam have their precedents in his carefully-staged tableaux of events during the South African war, such as *Tired Out* and *A Good Samaritan*. This desire to make his photographs 'speak rather of original composition than of a chance scene caught by the camera' is manifested subsequently in the posed tableaux he created for the Department of Information, such as *Fourteen Days Leave*.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁵ See, for example, *The Illustrated London News*, 27 February, 1907, p. 325.

⁷³⁶ National Archives COPY 1/533/30.

⁷³⁷ See Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, pp. 117-118. Also, Cowan, *Horace W. Nicholls*, p. 284. See, for example, *A Stroll in the Paddock*, RPS Neg No, 1496.

⁷³⁸ See, for example, IWM Q30785.

⁷³⁹ Catalogue, *Memorable Incidents and Striking Features of the South African Campaign*, description of 'A Cooling Drink', RPS Collection.

Nicholls' talent for visual storytelling, exhibited in the sequential narratives he created for the Department of Information, such as *Fourteen Days Leave* and *From Desk to Trench*, is also evident in his earlier work. Most of the photographs Nicholls submitted to magazines are single images, reflecting the spatial constraints of the publications and the editorial conventions of the time. Occasionally, however, he was given the space to create pictorial narratives that demonstrate a serial, cinematic quality, pre-empting the accepted emergence of the photo-essay in the late 1920s.⁷⁴⁰ In 1910, for example, *Badminton* magazine, published seventeen of his photographs as a series of full-page images in an article entitled *The Tale of a Salmon*.⁷⁴¹ In these photographs, each with just a simple one line (or even, one word) caption, Nicholls tells the story of one man's day, fishing for salmon, from choosing a likely spot, selecting the right fly, putting on his waders, casting, catching a salmon and, finally, bringing it back to the riverbank.⁷⁴² (Figures 4.39– 4.42)

Photography played a central role in Nicholls' life. To Nicholls, photography was much more than just a way of earning a living. It permeated every aspect of his life, blurring the boundaries between public and private, and personal and professional. Photography was in Nicholls' blood. He was born and grew up in a photographic studio. His father and uncle were both photographers. At least three of his siblings were photographers. When he met his wife, she was working as a photographer's assistant. Subsequently, he taught all of his children photography. The links between Nicholls' life and his photographic work are so intertwined that one cannot meaningfully examine one without understanding the other. A devoted family man, Nicholls' family albums naturally contain many photographs of his children. They also contain many examples of his professional work. What is significant, however, is the fact that these two categories are not mutually exclusive.

The ambiguous status of photography in his life is clearly revealed when one considers Nicholls' photographs of his children. When he was in Johannesburg,

⁷⁴⁰ For a discussion of the history of the photo-essay, see Michael Jennings, 'Agriculture, Industry, and the Birth of the Photo-Essay in the Late Weimar Republic', *October*, Vol. 93, Summer, 2000, pp. 23-56.

⁷⁴¹ 'The Tale of a Salmon', *Badminton* magazine, September, 1910, pp. 299-315.

⁷⁴² While these photographs were taken as a sequential series, they could also, of course, be viewed independently. One of them was published in *The Graphic* the year before the complete series was published in *Badminton* magazine. 'The Quest of the Salmon', *The Graphic*, 13 March, 1909, p. 333.

Nicholls included a photograph of his son, George, riding in a jinricksha, in one of the souvenir booklets that he published.⁷⁴³ Back in Britain, working from home served to further blur the boundary in Nicholls' life between the personal and the professional.

One of the reasons Nicholls expressed for his decision to return to Britain was his concern over his children's education.⁷⁴⁴ After the family moved to Ealing, Nicholls sent his children to board at Steyne School, in Worthing, West Sussex.⁷⁴⁵

Subsequently, the pupils of Steyne School, including his own children, appear frequently among Nicholls' published photographs.⁷⁴⁶ During the First World War, when Nicholls was asked by the Department of Information to photograph some schoolchildren, he naturally chose to photograph the pupils of Steyne School where his two of his daughters were still studying and his son had until recently been a member of the school cadet corps.⁷⁴⁷

By the summer of 1914, Nicholls had established himself as a successful independent freelance journalistic photographer. His work was appearing frequently in a wide range of magazines and newspapers and he had also begun to explore other potentially lucrative areas of work such as book illustration and postcards. Personally, as well as professionally, life was good for Nicholls. He was happily married and his children were doing well at school or just starting out in their chosen careers. For Nicholls and his family, however, as for millions of other families, everything was about to change.

⁷⁴³ See Chapter Two, *Stirring Events*.

⁷⁴⁴ He was worried that 'he could not have secured a proper education for his children, unless they were surfeited with Dutch, which was the only language allowed in the schools'. 'Fresh from the Front', *Tiverton Gazette*, 27 March, 1900, p. 7.

⁷⁴⁵ Nicholls' decision to send his children to a boarding school in Worthing might seem unusual given that there were many alternative schools he could have chosen that were nearer to London. There is evidence that suggests Nicholls was related to the founder and head of the school, Miss Bennett. In 1913, when Miss Bennett died, Nicholls is recorded as attending her funeral as one of the family mourners. *The Worthing Gazette*, 5 November, 1913, p. 3. Nicholls devotes a full page of the 1913 family album to a series of photographs taken in Worthing – 'A Sorrowful Year for The Steyne School – The School Loses its Beloved Founder'.

⁷⁴⁶ In 1907, for example, a group photograph of Nicholls' son, George, and his classmates who had given a charity performance of HMS Pinafore was published in *The Penny Illustrated Paper*. 'Children who earned £50 for Charity', *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, 20 July, 1907, p. 36.

⁷⁴⁷ Violet and Peggy Nicholls were at Steyne School. Sidney Nicholls had recently moved to Berkhamsted School. See IWM Q31163 – Q31173. These have been erroneously captioned as having been taken at 'Sleyne' school. The young girl photographed in Q31163-Q31165 is almost certainly Nicholls' youngest daughter, Peggy. In April 1918 Peggy performed in a school entertainment to raise money for the wounded. See, *The Worthing Gazette*, 17 April, 1918, p. 3.

On 3 August 1914, the front page of *The Daily Mirror* proclaimed:

It is Armageddon. Germany has declared war on Russia, invaded France and seized the small independent State of Luxemburg.⁷⁴⁸

In the same issue, tucked away inside on page 20, there is a photograph by Nicholls of a young girl on a beach, captioned *A Pretty Seaside Study*:

Who does not envy her, without care and without worry, a pretty little sea nymph, whose only business in life is to extract the maximum of enjoyment from each succeeding day. She is indeed the embodiment of happiness.⁷⁴⁹

The following day, Britain declared war on Germany. A patriotic man, Nicholls was determined to do his duty. He too would have envied the pretty little sea nymph. The next four years were not to be without care and without worry. The First World War was to change the course of his photographic career and have a devastating and lasting effect on both him and his family.

⁷⁴⁸*The Daily Mirror*, 3 August, 1914, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 20.

Chapter Four - Illustrations



Figure 4.1 Nicholls' house, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Nicholls family album, 1905.

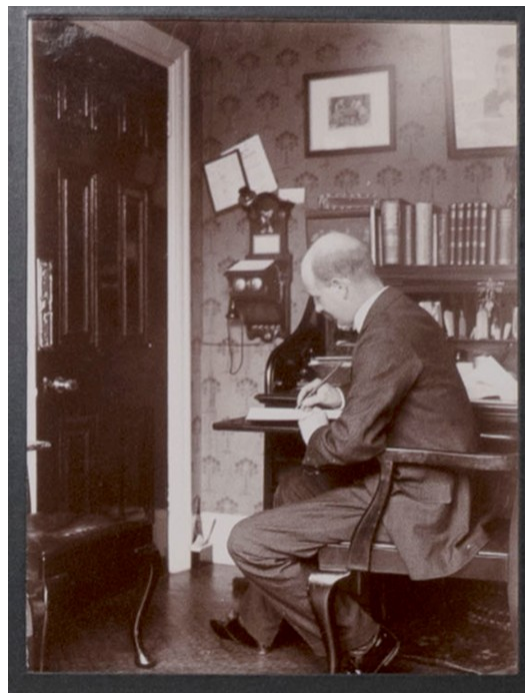


Figure 4.2 Nicholls at work in his study at 9 Amherst Avenue. Nicholls family album, 1907.



Figure 4.3 Nicholls in his attic studio at 9 Amherst Avenue. Nicholls family album, 1907.

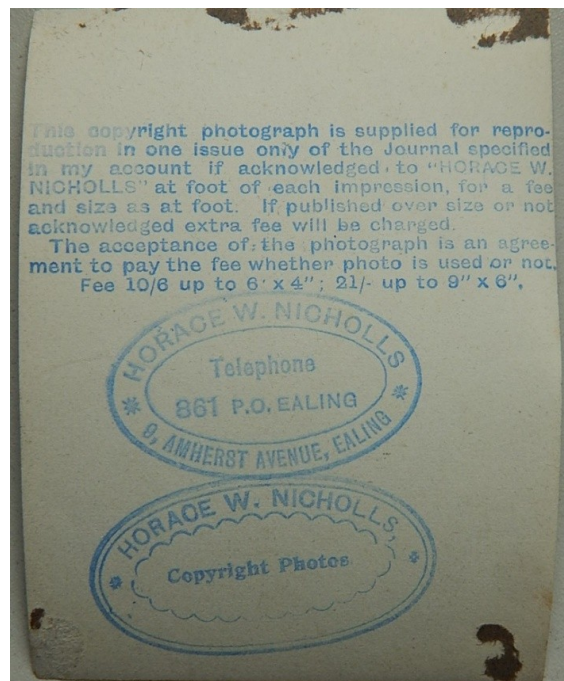


Figure 4.4 Copyright stamps on reverse of photograph supplied by Nicholls.

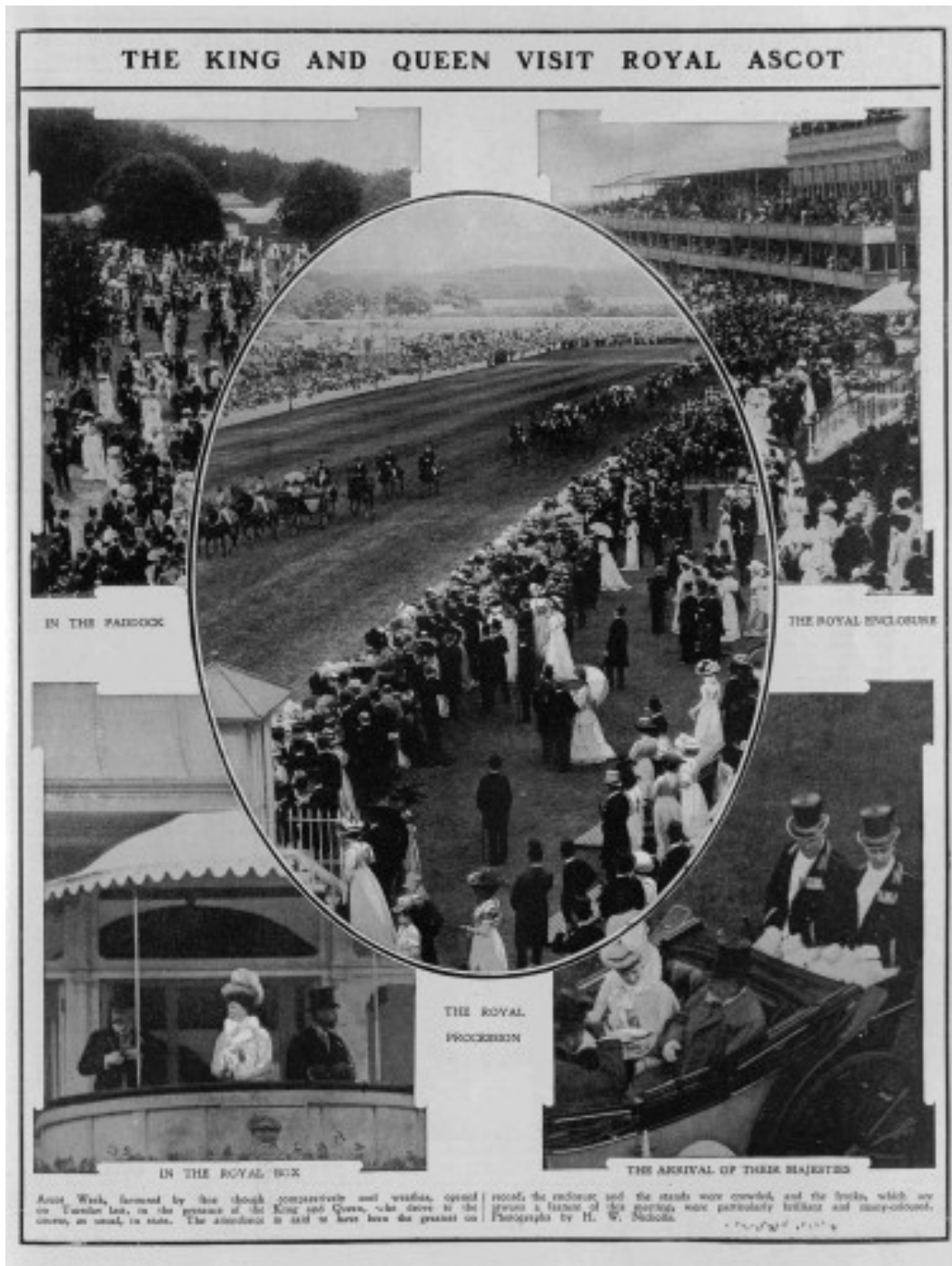


Figure 4.5 'The King and Queen Visit Royal Ascot', *The Graphic*, 19 June, 1909.

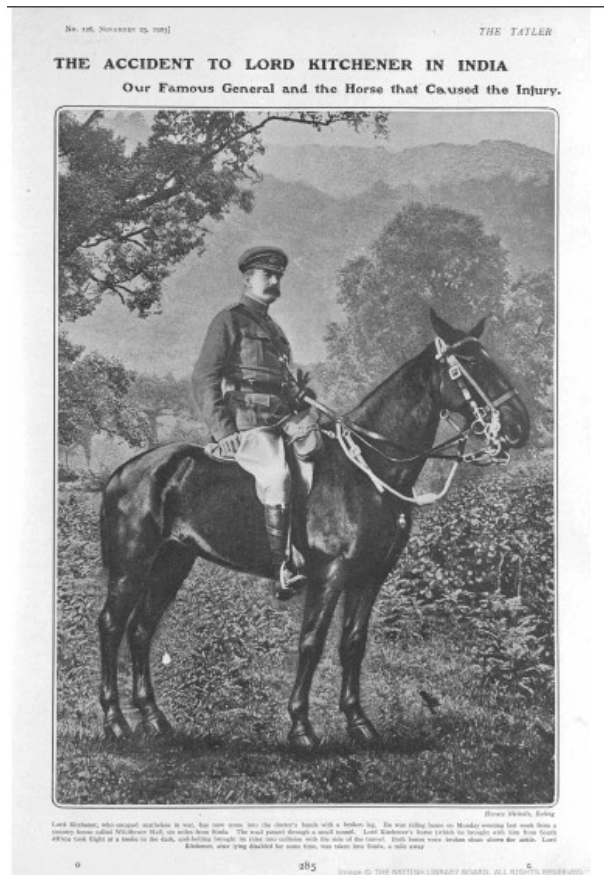


Figure 4.6 'The Accident to Lord Kitchener in India', *The Tatler*, 25 November, 1903



Figure 4.7 Lord Kitchener and his staff in Johannesburg, 1902.

RPS 2003-5001_0002_27458.

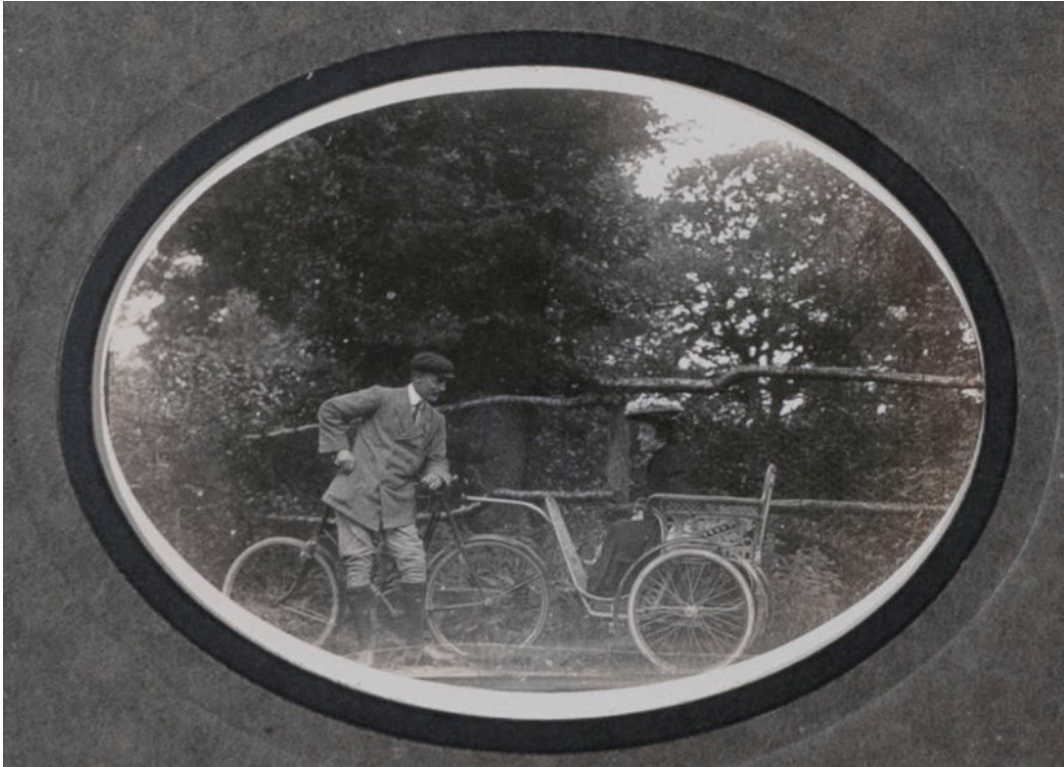


Figure 4.8 Horace and Florence with their bicycle trailer. Nicholls family album, 1906.



Figure 4.9 Edward John Gregory, *Boulter's Lock, Sunday Afternoon*, 1897.

Lady Lever Art Gallery (LL 3149)



Figure 4.10. Horace Nicholls, The National Archives COPY 1/475/25 'Photograph (horizontal) of Boulter's Lock', 1904.



Figure 4.11. F. Baker, 'In Boulter's Lock', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 29 June, 1901.



Figure 4.12. Montague Dixon & Co, 'At Royal Ascot: The Crowd in the Paddock on Cup Day', *The Bystander*, 26 June, 1907



Figure 4.13. Horace Nicholls, 'Fashion at Ascot: The Crowd in the Paddock on Cup Day', *The Graphic*, 29 June, 1907



Figure 4.14 Arthur Nicholls, 'Binographic' novelty *carte de visite* portrait, c. 1865. Nicholls family archive.

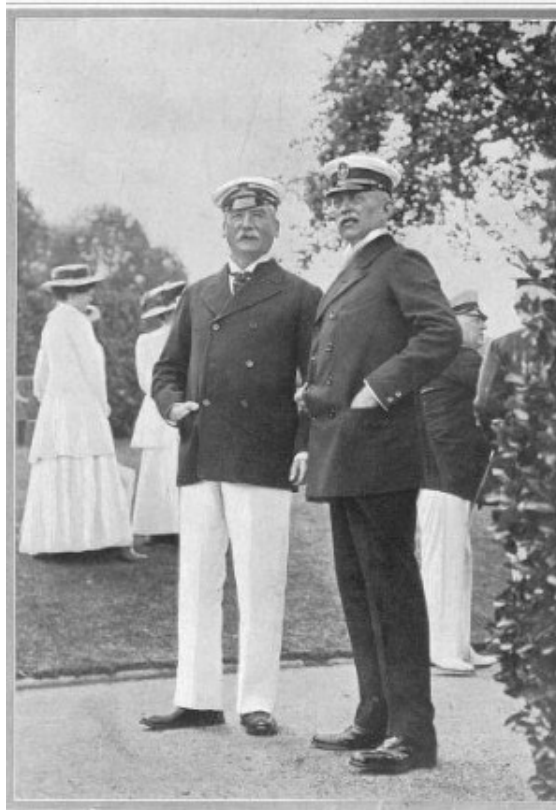


Figure 4.15. 'The Marquess of Ormonde', *The Bystander*, 11 August, 1909.

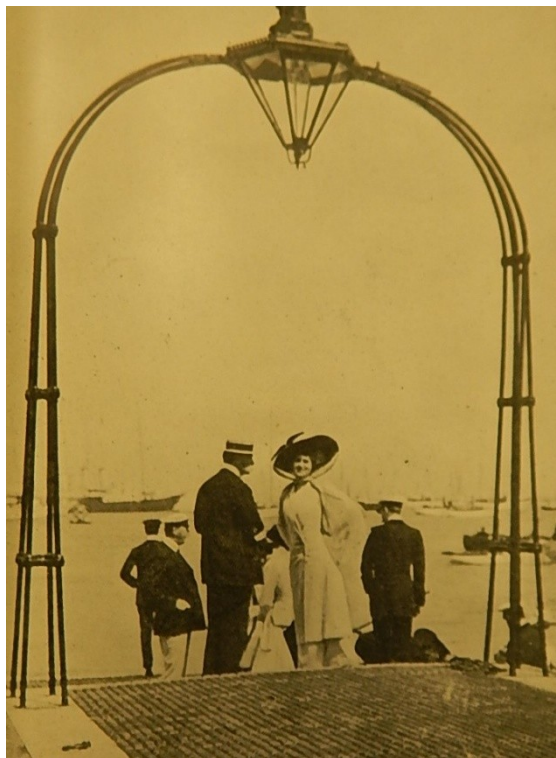


Figure 4.16. 'The R.Y.S. Landing Steps', *Badminton Magazine*, August 1912.



Figure 4.17 'The Landing Steps of the Royal Yacht Squadron, Cowes', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 1 August, 1914.

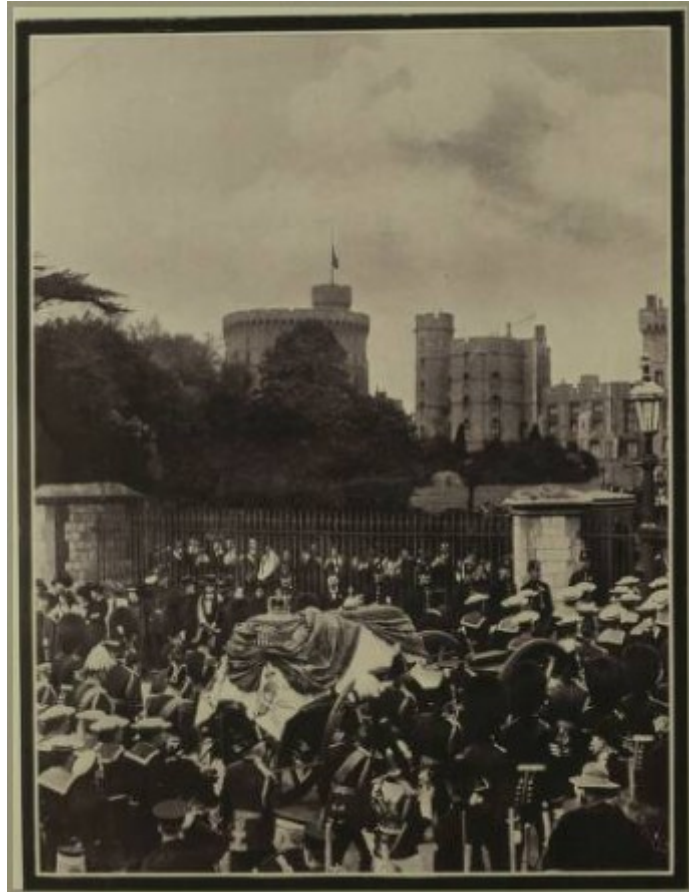


Figure 4.18. 'The Final Home-Coming: The Entry into Windsor Castle', *The Illustrated London News*, 28 May, 1910.



Figure 4.19. RPS 2003-5001_0002_27805



Figure 4.20. RPS 2003-5001_0002_27806.



Figure 4.21. George Soper, 'Eton and His Late Majesty: Boys of the World-Famous College Witnessing the Last Progress of King Edward', *The Illustrated London News*, 28 May, 1910.



Figure 4.22. Stanhope Forbes, 'The Woodman', 1905.



Figure 4.23. Horace Nicholls, 'A Son of East Anglia: An Old Mole-catcher', *The Sunday at Home*, 1914.



Figure 4.24. Horace Nicholls with Regis Gignoux, correspondent for *Le Figaro*, Tangiers, 1911. Nicholls family album, 1911.

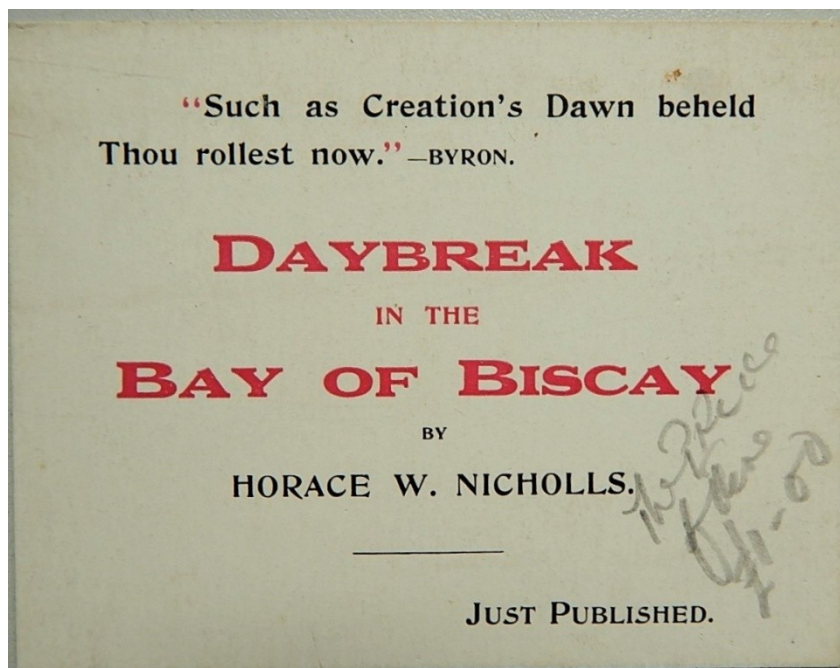


Figure 4.25. Advertisement for carbon print, 'Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay, 1910.

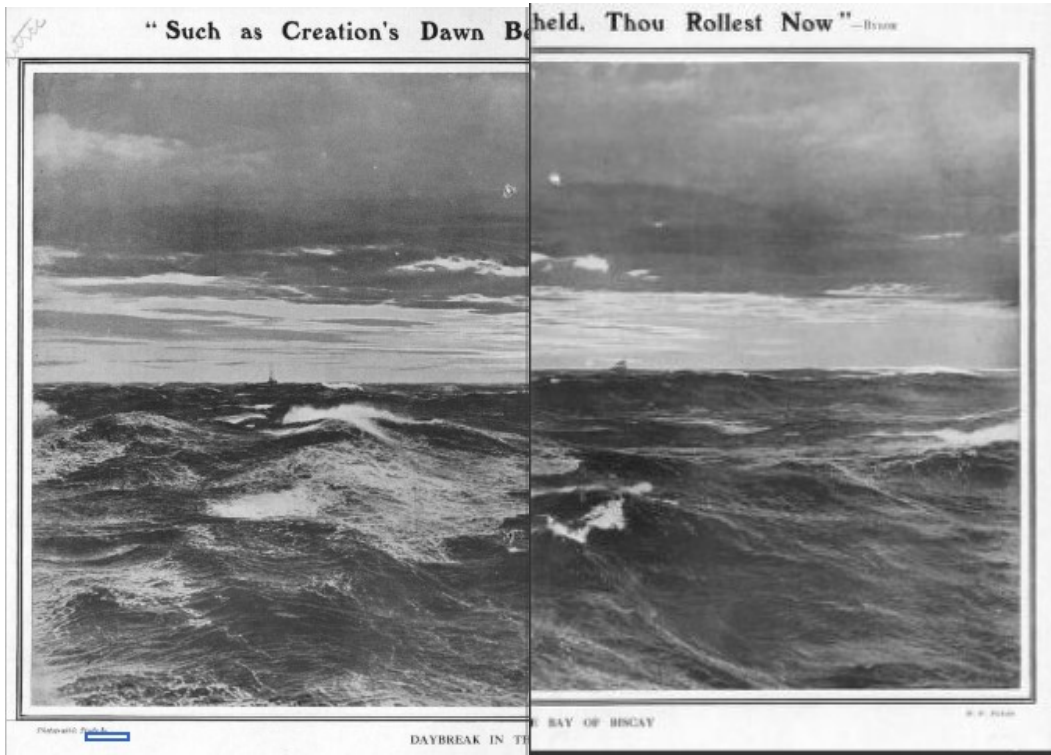


Figure 4.26. Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay', *The Bystander*, 28 September, 1910.

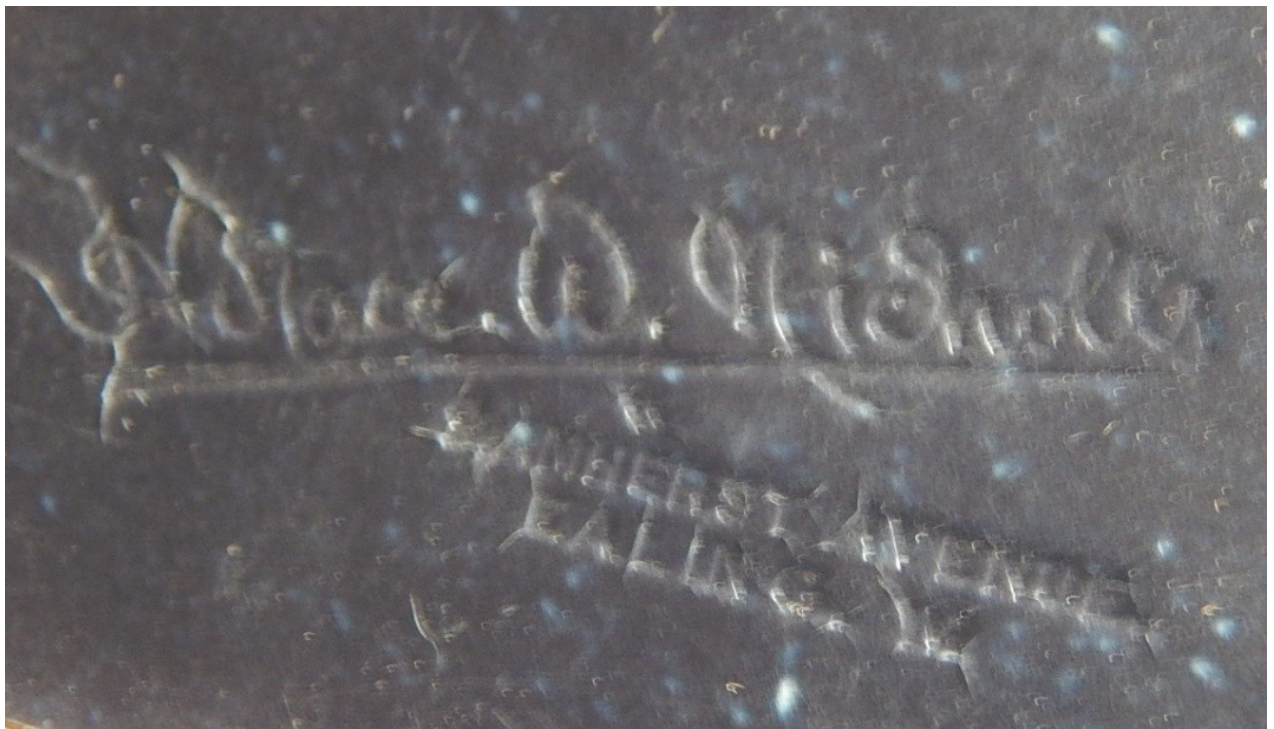


Figure 4.27. Blindstamp on carbon print of 'Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay'.



Figure 4.28. 'It is a simple matter to remove a faulty sparking plug', Nicholls family archive, Folio No. 276.



Figure 4.29. Postcard of Gladys Cooper and her daughter. Philco Series No, 2900/1. (Author's collection)



Figure 4.30. Postcard of Gladys Cooper. Nicholls family archive.



Figure 4.31. Postcard of Gladys Cooper and her daughter, published by Rotary Photo A-840-6. (Author's collection)



Figure 4.32. 'Home Chat', 29 August, 1914.



Figure 4.33. Advertisement for Cadbury's Cocoa, *The Sphere*, 9 February, 1901.



Figure 4.34. 'A Merry Christmas', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 23 December, 1911.



Figure 4.35. Cavendish Morton, 'The Kodak Girl', 1910. (National Science and Media Museum).



Figure 4.36. Horace Nicholls, 'Figure Studies on Beach', 1913. Virtual positive from RPS Neg No. 7425.

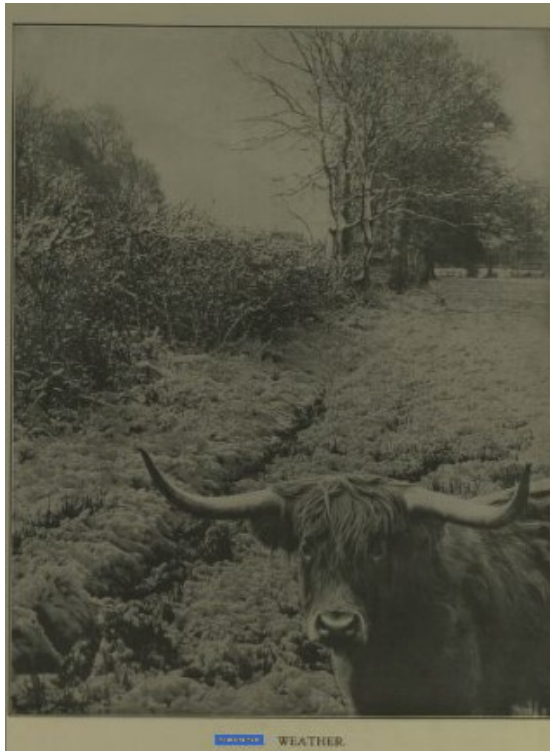



Figure 4.37. 'Bovril Weather', *The Illustrated London News*, 16 January, 1909.

	id. each. of Art) Act.) n. C.C. a Memorandum of ight in Paintings, n.)	For Official Use. 30 48-292 Received 47.916.
	Name and Place of Abode of Proprietor of Copyright. <i>Bovril Limited</i> <i>152. Old St.</i> <i>London.</i> <i>E.C.</i>	Name and Place of Abode of Author of Work. <i>Horace Walter</i> <i>Nicholls.</i> <i>9. Amherst Terrace.</i> <i>Calisy</i> <i>London. W.</i>
BOVRIL, LIMITED, <i>Douglas Walker</i>		All names in the third, fourth, and fifth columns to be written in full.

In all cases where a Painting, Drawing, or Negative of a Photograph is transferred for the first time by the owner to any other person, the Copyright will cease to exist, unless at or before the time of such transfer an agreement in writing be signed by the transferee reserving the Copyright to the owner, or by the owner transferring the Copyright to the transferee, as may be the intention of the parties; and the date of such agreement and the names of the parties thereto must be inserted above, or registration will be no protection. The second and third columns are only to be used when there is a written agreement or assignment.

Figure 4.38. Copyright registration form, 'Photograph full face of a bull's head & shoulders'. The National Archives COPY 1/533/30.



Figures 4.39 – 4.42. 'The Tale of a Salmon', *Badminton* magazine, September, 1910.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Man from the Ministry

The outbreak of war on 4 August 1914 had an immediate impact on the Nicholls family. On 14 August, less than two weeks after war was declared, Nicholls' eldest son, George, enlisted as a private with the Honourable Artillery Company. He was just two weeks away from his twentieth birthday.⁷⁵⁰

Nicholls, too, was eager to 'do his bit' but aged 47 when war broke out, he was too old to enlist in the regular army.⁷⁵¹ He soon found an alternative outlet for his patriotism, however, when he enrolled in the United Arts Force.⁷⁵² This motley assembly of volunteers – mostly artists, architects, musicians, actors, authors and journalists – had been formed a week before war was declared:

At the clamour of the bugle in that fateful August of 1914, the artists of London were among the first to answer the dread call. The sculptor flung aside his chisel, the painter his brush, the writer the pen, the musician his instrument, the actor the buskin. They held out their empty hands for rifles and flocked to learn the soldier's trade

⁷⁵⁰ George Nicholls' war service papers are in the National Archives – WO 339/32133. George had recently returned from Germany where he had been living since 1911, working as a clerk for the engineering firm of Orenstein and Koppel. His recruitment papers have been annotated 'Speaks German'. Despite having been born in Johannesburg, South Africa, on his recruitment form George gives his place of birth as 'Ealing, Middlesex' – no doubt as an expression of his patriotism. Ironically, his place of birth means that his grave can now be found on the South African War Graves Project website - <http://www.southafricawargraves.org/search/details.php?id=18733>

⁷⁵¹ Volunteers were accepted up the age of 45, provided that they had previous military experience.

⁷⁵² The precise date of Nicholls' enrolment is not known, but he was certainly a member of the UAF by October 1914 when he photographed scenes on Barnes Common during a halt on a route march – 'For Home Defence – The United Arts Force Assembled for a Route March', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 24 October, 1914, p. 207. The formation of the UAF was reported widely in the press and this is how Nicholls may first have become aware of its existence. Alternatively, several early recruits to the UAF were journalists and Nicholls may have decided to join after talking to one of his professional contacts in Fleet Street – 'The ranks include painters, sculptors, actors and journalists', *The People*, 4 October, 1914, p. 5. In March 1915, the United Arts Force was renamed the United Arts Volunteer Rifles. They should not be confused with the Artists Rifles, a long-standing unit of the British Army which saw active service abroad. Both Rob Powell and Gail Buckland mistakenly claim that Nicholls was a member of the Artists Rifles.

which hitherto they had almost despised. Those too old to join the colours would not be denied the right to defend their country...⁷⁵³

As a self-proclaimed 'Press Photo Artist', operating at the convergence of art, photography and journalism, Nicholls' enrolment in this 'Arts' unit was not just an expression of his patriotism, but was also a clear statement about how he perceived himself to be an artist.

A product of the patriotic wave of enthusiasm that swept the country at the outbreak of war, the members of the United Arts Force tried to compensate with their enthusiasm for any deficiencies in martial prowess. In October 1914, the Royal Academy placed part of Burlington House in Piccadilly at their disposal. Initially, lacking proper uniforms and weapons, members could be seen in the quadrangle, practicing drill, carrying broomsticks and dressed in white cricket sweaters. With self-deprecating humour, they called themselves 'The Unshrinkables'.⁷⁵⁴ Despite the inclusion of many journalists in their ranks, they were often the butt of sarcastic humour in the press.⁷⁵⁵ They themselves, however, took their contribution to the war effort very seriously. At first, they had no official status, but by March 1915, having by this time received uniforms and rifles, they were recognised by the War Office and renamed the United Arts Rifles, forming the First Battalion, (United Arts) Central London Regiment. Not intended for service overseas but as a form of 'Home Guard', their role included guarding strategically important buildings and locations, manning searchlights for air defence and constructing defence works around London in response to the very real fear of invasion at this time. Nicholls embraced his membership of the United Arts Volunteer Rifles with enthusiasm.⁷⁵⁶ The family albums he compiled between 1914 and 1917 contain many photographs of him

⁷⁵³ Edward Potton (ed), *A Record of the United Arts Rifles*, London: The De La More Press, 1920, p.1.

⁷⁵⁴ 'Unshrinkable' was a popular term used in contemporary advertisements for woollen garments. See, for example, 'Wolsey Unshrinkable Underwear', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 23 November, 1908, p.10. When they were eventually issued, their rifles were stored in what was the Royal Academy's Refreshment Room – Sidney C. Hutchinson, *The History of the Royal Academy*, London: Robert Royce Ltd., 1986, p.142.

⁷⁵⁵ For example: 'Now that the writers, artists, musicians and actors have formed the United Arts Force, an early appeal for peace may be expected from the Germans', *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 3 October, 1914, p.5. Cartoons poking fun at the U.A.F. also appeared in *Punch* magazine. See, for example, 2 December, 1914, p.468.

⁷⁵⁶ Nicholls was in 'A' Company. See the group photograph in Potton, *A Record of the United Arts Rifles*, p.83.

posing proudly in his uniform and attending manoeuvres and training camps. (Figure 5.1)

In July 1915, the Nicholls family rented out their home in Amherst Avenue, Ealing and moved to Hayes, Middlesex, where they lived for the remainder of the war.⁷⁵⁷ Their temporary home, Wistowe, was previously the home of the photographic chemist and entrepreneur, Benjamin Joseph Edwards, whose company had been the first in Britain to make orthochromatic photographic plates.⁷⁵⁸ Nicholls used Edwards' plates. Their relationship, however, was more than just professional.⁷⁵⁹ In 1901, when he opened a new factory in Ealing Dean, Edwards moved to Castlebar Park, Ealing. Two years later, Nicholls bought a house in Amherst Avenue, just a few minutes' walk away. The two men seem have struck up an immediate friendship. A photograph in the Nicholls family album for 1906 shows Edwards relaxing in a deckchair in a sunny garden. In 1907 Edwards sold his company and moved to Wistowe House in Hayes where he set up a small factory in the back garden and made photographic papers and chemicals which were marketed under the trade names 'Wisto' and 'Wistona'.⁷⁶⁰ After the move, Nicholls and Edwards remained friends. A snapshot in the Nicholls album for 1912, captioned 'At Hayes', shows Edwards in the garden of Wistowe House. Edwards died in May 1914, aged 77.⁷⁶¹ His obituary in *The British Journal of Photography* was illustrated with a cropped version of the photograph of him in a deckchair, taken by Nicholls in 1906.⁷⁶² (Figure

⁷⁵⁷ The precise reason the family moved at this time is not known. It was probably the result of a combination of factors – an invitation from Edwards' daughter, Kate, who now lived alone at Wistowe and the financial benefit from renting out the house in Amherst Avenue at a time when Nicholls' income from photography would have been greatly reduced. The approximate date of the move can be worked out from published photographic credits in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*. On 26 June 1915 Nicholls' address is given as Ealing. On 10 July 1915 it is Hayes. Nicholls' house in Amherst Avenue, Ealing was rented out to a Colonel Bayley and his family.

⁷⁵⁸ For an account of Edwards' photographic career, see S. F. W. Welford, 'B. J. Edwards: Victorian Photographer, Inventor and Entrepreneur', *History of Photography*, Vol.13, No.2, April-June 1989, pp.157-163. Orthochromatic plates were sensitive to a broader spectral range than earlier photographic plates. Edwards marketed them under the name 'isochromatic'.

⁷⁵⁹ Many of Nicholls' negatives in the Royal Photographic Society Collection are still in their original Edwards & Co. Ltd. packaging.

⁷⁶⁰ For an advertisement for the Wisto Works, Hayes, see *The British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1911, p.1125.

⁷⁶¹ Edwards died on 24 May, 1914, at Wistowe. His death notice in the local paper described him as a 'pioneer of journalistic photography'. *Middlesex and Buckinghamshire Advertiser*, 30 May, 1914, p.4.

⁷⁶² 'Death of Mr. B. J. Edwards', *The British Journal of Photography*, 29 May, 1914, p.641.

5.2) Nicholls' move to Hayes in 1915 was probably at the invitation of Edwards' daughter, Kate, who continued to live at Wistowe, together with the Nicholls family.⁷⁶³

After the outbreak of war, the frequency with which Nicholls' photographs appeared in the press declined markedly. I have been able to identify 53 examples in 1914 (19 of these after August), compared with just 13 the following year and 19 in 1916.⁷⁶⁴

This decrease may well have been because his duties with the U.A.V.R. left Nicholls little spare time to devote to new photography.⁷⁶⁵ During this time, however, Nicholls was able to continue his pre-war practice of 're-packaging' some of his old photographs to give them a new-found topicality and commercial utility.⁷⁶⁶

Photographs of leading military figures now became particularly newsworthy. Nicholls' portrait of Lord Roberts, taken in South Africa in 1900, was reproduced in *The Daily Mirror* in November 1914.⁷⁶⁷ Similarly, his composite portrait of Lord Kitchener, again using a photograph taken during the South African War, was reproduced as the cover illustration for *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* in September 1914.⁷⁶⁸ (Figure 5.3)

Simply through re-captioning, generic images could assume a new topicality. A photograph of a nurse, taken by Nicholls in 1912, had been used on the cover of *Penny Pictorial* in November that year to promote an article on the work of The Red Cross.⁷⁶⁹ In October 1914, the same image was reproduced as the cover illustration for *Woman's Own* magazine. This time, the caption read *Tommy's Heroine*.⁷⁷⁰ (Figures 5.4 and 5.5) Similarly, in November 1914, a photograph of the quayside in

⁷⁶³ A series of photographs in the Nicholls family album for 1916, captioned 'In the Garden, Hayes', shows Kate Edwards with members of Nicholls' family.

⁷⁶⁴ See appendix for details.

⁷⁶⁵⁷¹⁸ Other influencing factors may have been censorship and limitations on travel which would all have played a part in restricting Nicholls' options.

⁷⁶⁶ The demand for these 're-packaged' images reflects the paucity of contemporary photographs available to publishers.

⁷⁶⁷ 'Lord Roberts Goes to the Front', *The Daily Mirror*, 14 November, 1914, p.6. RPS 2003-5001_0002_26371. Originally published in *The Graphic*, 20 October, 1900, p. 572.

⁷⁶⁸ 'K of K', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 19 September, 1914. P.61. The same image had appeared in *The Bystander* four years earlier – *The Bystander*, 27 April, 1910, p.167. RPS 2003-5001_0002_26462.

⁷⁶⁹ *Penny Pictorial*, 16 November, 1912. In the original photograph there are two nurses. The image has been laterally reversed and cropped by Nicholls to remove the second figure.

⁷⁷⁰ 'Tommy's Heroine', *Woman's Own*, 24 October, 1914. If you look closely, disembodied fingers can be seen at her waist where Nicholls has not fully cropped the image.

Rotterdam, taken in about 1909, became *Rotterdam, a port which Germany regards with covetous eyes*.⁷⁷¹

Many of Nicholls' photographs published after August 1914 had been taken earlier – in some cases, as much as 14 years earlier. A study of a pair of fishermen, taken in 1909, appeared in *Country Life* magazine in October 1914, illustrating an article on *The Mine Sweepers of the North Sea*.⁷⁷² Similarly, a photograph of a ward in a military hospital, taken by Nicholls during the South African War, was used as the background for a composite image that appeared in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* in November 1914.⁷⁷³ This photograph was published alongside a posed tableau by Nicholls entitled *A Letter from the Front – The Old Trysting Place*. This highly-romanticised image depicts a young woman in a rustic setting, ostensibly reading a letter from her sweetheart who is away, fighting. (Figure 5.6) Together, the two photographs form a diptych under the joint caption *Women's Part in Warfare*, reflecting and reinforcing a woman's perceived traditional role in wartime as either an 'angel' ministering to the wounded, or a wife, mother or sweetheart awaiting the return of their loved one.

The young woman photographed in *The Old Trysting Place* is Nicholls' oldest daughter, Gertrude.⁷⁷⁴ In time of war, just as he had done in peacetime, Nicholls often used members of his family as the subjects for his commercial photography.⁷⁷⁵ In September 1914, Nicholls' eldest son, George, went to France with the British Expeditionary Force. Before he left for the Front, George paid a short visit home. During that visit, Nicholls photographed his son embracing his youngest sister Peggy as he kissed her goodbye. Cropped to remove the garden background, this photograph was published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* a few

⁷⁷¹ 'What Germany Wants', *Penny Pictorial*, 28 November, 1914, p.31.

⁷⁷² 'A Smoke and a Yarn', *Country Life*, 10 October, 1914, p.476.

⁷⁷³ 'Women's Part in Warfare', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 21 November, 1914, p.322. The background photograph of this composite image had been published two years earlier in *Penny Pictorial* to accompany the article on the work of the Red Cross – *Penny Pictorial*, 16 November, 1912, p.442. It is not known whether the caption has been written by Nicholls or of the magazine's editor.

⁷⁷⁴ It is part of a series, probably taken in September 1914. They are included in the Nicholls family album for 1914. Gertrude also appears in a later study, taken in Hayes, Middlesex, in 1916, entitled 'The Old Tryst', that was published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 22 July, 1916, p.583.

⁷⁷⁵ The use of family members was primarily a matter of convenience but also had the advantage of not requiring any permissions or permits.

weeks later, captioned *The H.A.C. for the Front – The Soldier Brother’s “Good-Bye”*.⁷⁷⁶ (Figures 5.7 and 5.8) Anonymous and removed from his familial context, George had become the universal soldier. In early 1916, when he was leave from the front, Nicholls photographed George again. This time, George’s anonymity is ensured by the fact that he is wearing his gasmask.⁷⁷⁷ When the photograph was published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, George, the loving son and brother, had become *The Twentieth-Century Soldier*– a grotesque, terrifying sight in his ‘fearsome-looking gas helmet’.⁷⁷⁸ (Figure 5.9)

George’s younger brother, Sidney, also posed for Nicholls’ commercial work. In 1916, Sidney was the sitter for a pair of contrasting portraits entitled *Tommy and Fritz*. These were published in *The Daily Mirror* where the caption identifies Sidney as ‘A clever little boy belonging to the Steyne Cadet Corps of Worthing’.⁷⁷⁹ (Figure 5.10)

Nicholls, always the opportunist, also managed to put his time serving with the U.A.V.R. to commercial use.⁷⁸⁰ In October 1914, three of Nicholls’ photographs of members of the United Arts Force, dressed in their characteristic cricket sweaters, were published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.⁷⁸¹ The following year, his photographs of the U.A.V.R. on manoeuvres and in training camps appeared in *Country Life*, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* and *Sunday Pictorial*.⁷⁸² (Figure 5.11) In June 1916, Nicholls’ photograph of Lord French inspecting volunteers, including the U.A.V.R., in London’s Hyde Park, was published in *The Daily Mirror*.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁶*The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 26 September, 1914, p.97.

⁷⁷⁷This photograph appears, somewhat incongruously, in that year’s family album.

⁷⁷⁸ ‘The Twentieth Century Soldier’, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 4 March, 1916, p.8. This image reflects heightened public concern following Germany’s use of poison gas as a weapon on the Western Front in April 1915. The development of effective gas masks was of acute concern at this time. Nicholls photographed George wearing an early form of ‘Hypo’ gas helmet in 1915 and a later, more sophisticated ‘Tube’ gas helmet the following year.

⁷⁷⁹ ‘It’s the Same Boy and the Same Cap’, *The Daily Mirror*, 15 August, 1916, p.12.

⁷⁸⁰ Given the decline in Nicholls’ business, this may have been a financial imperative as much as a commercial opportunity.

⁷⁸¹ ‘For Home Defence – The United Arts Force Assembled for a Route March’, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 24 October, 1914, p.207.

⁷⁸²*Country Life*, 30 October, 1915, pp.573-576. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 17 April, 1915, p.174, 2 October, 1915, p.126. *Sunday Pictorial*, 19 December, 1915, p.20.

⁷⁸³ ‘A Most Valuable Force’, *The Daily Mirror*, 19 June 1916, pp.6-7.

Although he himself would not have described them as such, Nicholls' photographs taken during the first two years of the war may be considered to be a form of 'soft' propaganda.⁷⁸⁴ They present a patriotic, positive, and at times even light-hearted view of the conflict which reflects Nicholls' own sense of patriotism and pride in his and his family's contribution to the war effort. This view was also, of course, consistent with the message that both the government and the publishers of the magazines that bought Nicholls' photographs sought to convey at the time. This 'propaganda of unity of purpose' muted contradictory voices and mitigated protests against censorship. As John Taylor has observed:

Since journalists and government officials shared a common fount of patriotism, the press not only accepted but even desired control. How else was it to make sense of chaos and meet deadlines? Furthermore, this patriotism was part of a shared and commonsensical perception of the world.⁷⁸⁵

Nicholls' service with the U.A.V.R. and the publication of his wartime photographs demonstrated his 'unity of purpose'. Nicholls, however, clearly felt that he was in a position to do more. As a photographer, moreover, a photographer with some experience of war, he felt he could make a contribution to the war effort as both a photographer and as an artist.

The possibility of Nicholls' becoming an official frontline photographer, however, was remote. During the First World War, the first British official photographers were not appointed until 1916, following concerns that the paucity of photographic coverage of the conflict was compromising morale and British influence with its allies and neutral countries.⁷⁸⁶ In March 1916, Ernest Brooks, a former *Daily Mirror* photographer who

⁷⁸⁴ 'Soft' propaganda is loosely defined as that relying on persuasion rather than the deliberate falsification of information used in 'hard' propaganda. For a recent study of the history of propaganda as communication, information and persuasion, see Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda & Persuasion*, London: Sage Publications, 2019,

⁷⁸⁵ John Taylor, *War Photography: Realism in the British Press*, London: Routledge, 1991, p.47.

⁷⁸⁶ For a discussion of photography during the early stages of the war and the appointment of the first official photographers, see Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, London: Routledge, 1989, pp.3-21. In March 1916, when the Propaganda Bureau at Wellington House needed some photographs to illustrate its publications, it found itself in the embarrassing position of receiving an offer to supply them from the French government. Ministry of Information papers at IWM, Box 1, File 2, letter and minute relating to the employment of official photographers. Quoted in John Taylor, *War Photography: Realism in the British Press*,

was serving with the Royal Navy, was transferred to the War Office, given the honorary rank of Second Lieutenant and appointed as the first official photographer for the Western Front to photograph the build up to the Battle of the Somme.⁷⁸⁷ Four months later, he was joined by John Warwick Brooke, who had worked for the Topical Press Agency before enlisting in 1915.⁷⁸⁸

News of the appointment of Brooks and Brooke, two former press photographers, was probably the catalyst that prompted Nicholls to enquire in August 1916 about future vacancies for official photographers.⁷⁸⁹ Nicholls contacted Ivor Nicholson, head of the Pictorial Section at the government Propaganda Bureau, Wellington House, sending him a portfolio of specimen prints. Nicholson's reply does not survive, but from Nicholls' response, it can be inferred that it contained a polite rejection.

Not giving up hope, Nicholls wrote again to Nicholson on 7 September: 'I note that should a vacancy occur for Official Photography at the Front, you will acquaint me.' He summarised his approach to photography:

The chief aim of my work in Photography is pictorial effect in preference to photographing anything [and] everything.⁷⁹⁰

Now aged 49, time was not on Nicholls' side (Brooke was 30 and Brooks 40).⁷⁹¹ Also, Nicholson was not being disingenuous when he said that there were no vacancies for official photographers. On 9 August (just five days before Nicholson wrote to

London: Routledge, 1991, p.43.

⁷⁸⁷ Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, p.48.

⁷⁸⁸ In July 1916, after his name was put forward as a suitable appointment by the Proprietors' Association of Press Photographic Agencies, the body formed to represent the interest of the trade, Brooke was given a commission and became the second British official war photographer. Brooke was formerly a sergeant in King Edward's Horse. In January 1916 he was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal for conspicuous gallantry. The report of his award in *The People* (16 January, 1916, p.7) gives his civilian occupation but notes: 'Sergt. Brooke is, of course, during the war, no longer a Press artist but a soldier'. Brooke received his temporary honorary commission with 'The Intelligence Corps' on 2 July 1916. National Archives WO 372/3/89505.

⁷⁸⁹ The popular response to the release of the film *The Battle of the Somme* in August 1916 may also have been a factor.

⁷⁹⁰ Letter from Nicholls to Ivor Nicholson, 7 September, 1916. IWM Files. This letter is written on Royal Colonial Institute headed paper. Nicholls apologises for his delay in replying, saying that he has 'been away'. Nicholls had been with the U.A.V.R. in August, digging defence works at Otford and Epping. See photographs in the Nicholls family album for 1916. In support of his application, Nicholls enclosed a copy of his catalogue of carbon prints of scenes from the South African War, *Memorable Incidents and Striking Features of the South African Campaign*.

⁷⁹¹ Both Brooks and Brooke were of military age and fit for military service.

Nicholls), Lloyd George, the then Secretary of State for War, was asked in the House of Commons whether the Press Photographers' Association would be invited to make recommendations for future appointments of official photographers. His reply was succinct: 'No further appointments are likely to be made'.⁷⁹²

While Nicholls waited to hear of a possible vacancy, the frequency with which his photographs appeared in the press continued to decrease. In 1916, I have only been able to identify two instances after September, and just five for the whole of 1917.⁷⁹³

In April 1917, tragedy struck the Nicholls family. On 13 April 1917, Nicholls received a terse telegram from the War Office:

Deeply regret to inform you 2/Lieut. G. A. Nicholls R.F.A. 15 Bde was killed in action April 9th. The Army Council express their sympathy.⁷⁹⁴

This must surely have been the darkest period in Nicholls' life. He had lost his oldest, dearly-loved son. He was just 50, but already, it seemed, too old to serve his country. Moreover, his photographic career seemed to be faltering.

In late May 1917, Nicholls took up a clerical appointment with the National Service Department as a Substitution Officer, based at the Government Record and Recruiting Offices in Hounslow: (Figure 5.12)⁷⁹⁵

All who have hitherto hesitated about enrolment in the National Service through doubt as to its meaning or what it may entail, can now obtain particulars at the Drill Hall, Hanworth-road, Hounslow, by

⁷⁹² See Hansard, House of Commons Debates, 9 August, 1916, Vol. 85 c1067W. This exchange was reported in *The British Journal of Photography*. 'Official Photographers in War Areas', *The British Journal of Photography*, 18 August, 1916.

⁷⁹³ All of Nicholls' photographs published in 1917 were taken before the outbreak of the war.

⁷⁹⁴ National Archives – WO 339/32133. George was killed on the opening day of the Battle of Arras. For details of George Nicholls' death, see my post on the IWM Research Blog – 'George Arthur Nicholls: "He Always Played the Game"' - <http://blogs.iwm.org.uk/research/2017/04/second-lieutenant-george-arthur-nicholls-he-always-played-the-game/>

⁷⁹⁵ Nicholls' motivation for taking up this appointment was probably twofold. Frustrated at being too old to enlist, this was an opportunity to contribute in some way to Britain's war effort. Also, given the decline in his commercial work it was a source of regular income.

enquiring from the Sub-Area Substitution Officer (Mr. H. W. Nicholls) who will be pleased to explain all details.⁷⁹⁶

Created in May 1917 as part of an initiative by Neville Chamberlain, Substitution Officers were an attempt to solve the growing problem of recruiting sufficient manpower for the armed forces.⁷⁹⁷ After years of being self-employed, with the freedom and flexibility to work when and where he wanted, it must have been difficult for Nicholls to adapt to an office environment with a hierarchical management structure and rigid hours.⁷⁹⁸ He would at least have had the satisfaction of knowing that he was making a personal contribution, however small, to the war effort. But he must also have reflected that his ambition of being a war photographer was now surely just a dream.

In June 1917, however, after a gap of nine months, Nicholls was contacted again by Ivor Nicholson. There was, he was told, now a vacancy for an official photographer. Moreover, Nicholson thought that Nicholls was the right man for the job. This appointment, however, was not for a photographer for the Western Front but for someone to photograph Britain's war effort at home. To understand why this role had been created at this time, it is necessary to consider the context of the changing nature of British propaganda since the outbreak of war.⁷⁹⁹

Starting in August 1914, German propaganda poured out of Berlin. It soon became apparent to the British Government that some response was urgently required in order to counteract this. In a Cabinet meeting held at the end of August, Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'urged the importance of setting on foot an organisation to inform and influence public opinion abroad and to confute German

⁷⁹⁶*Middlesex Chronicle*, 7 July, 1917, p.7. Nicholls probably remained in the U.A.V.R. until May 1917, when he attended a review of the volunteer corps in Richmond, See Potton, *A Record of the United Arts Rifles*, p.22.

⁷⁹⁷Substitution Officers were civilian employees, based in the same building as recruiting officers. Their job was to find suitable volunteers from a local register who would act as substitutes for men from essential industries and professions who could then be released for military service. For an explanation of how the substitution system was expected to work, see *The Free Press*, 2 June, 1917, p.4.

⁷⁹⁸ As a Substitution Officer, Nicholls' working hours would have been from 9.15 until 6.00 Monday to Friday and from 9.15 until 1.30 on Saturdays.

⁷⁹⁹ The standard histories of British propaganda during the First World War are Gary S. Messinger, *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War*, Manchester: Manchester University Press and M. L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War*, London: The Macmillan Press, 1982.

mis-statements and sophistries'.⁸⁰⁰ The Prime Minister, Asquith, turned to his friend, the Liberal politician, Charles Masterman, to create such an organisation.⁸⁰¹

Masterman was tasked with 'placing before the peoples of neutral countries and of the Dominions the British case for entering the war and for justifying wartime policy decisions'.⁸⁰² From the start, Masterman felt that this work must remain secret since any documents it put out would be less persuasive if they were known to have come from an 'official' source. Masterman had been Chairman of the National Insurance Commission. The Insurance Commission had its offices in Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, near Buckingham Palace. This building became the front for Masterman's organisation which became known as 'Wellington House'. So successful was this blanket of secrecy, even Parliament was largely unaware of Wellington House's existence.

On 2 September 1914, Masterman called a meeting to which he invited some of the leading writers of the day.⁸⁰³ Agreeing to work in utmost secrecy, many of them volunteered to write books and pamphlets that would put forward the government's perspective on the conduct of the war.⁸⁰⁴ Strict secrecy was maintained by always using commercial publishers and printers and ensuring that there was no indication that the material had originated from an official source or that it had been written by people who had any connection with the British government:

We have endeavoured all through to preserve methods of secrecy, to get our literature into the hands of those who will read it without any knowledge of any "Government Bureau" behind it, there cannot be

⁸⁰⁰ Letter from H. H. Asquith to King George V, 31 August 1914. National Archives CAB 41/35/38.

⁸⁰¹ For biographies of Masterman, see Lucy Masterman, *C.F.G. Masterman: A Biography*, London: Nicholson and Watson, 1939 and Eric Hopkins, *Charles Masterman (1873-1927) Politician and Journalist: The Splendid Failure*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999.

⁸⁰² Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.39.

⁸⁰³ These included J. M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, G. K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle, John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy and H. G. Wells.

⁸⁰⁴ For a study of the propagandist collaboration between leading writers and the government during the First World War, see Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda, 1914-18 and After*, London: Batsford, 1989. In June 1915, in his first submission to the Cabinet on the work of Wellington House Masterman reported that during the previous nine months two and a half million copies of books, pamphlets and other forms of literary propaganda had been circulated in 17 different languages - C. F. G. Masterman, *Interim Report of the Work of the Bureau Established for the Purpose of Laying before Neutral Nations and the Dominions the Case of Great Britain and Her Allies*, June 1915.

the slightest doubt, after the experience of eighteen months, that the effect of the work done here would have practically been stultified if the German propagandists throughout the world had been able to demonstrate that all these books, pamphlets, newspapers, articles, interviews, &c., were really the product of a “lie bureau” subsidised by Government money.⁸⁰⁵

Initially, Wellington House put its faith in books and pamphlets and did not attempt to appeal directly to public opinion on a mass scale. This commitment to intellectual and literary forms of propaganda reflected Masterman’s conviction that:

...mass activity is the easiest and that which appeals most to those who wish to produce an effect, but it is in fact the most useless as regards its results upon the population to be affected.⁸⁰⁶

The primary target of literary forms of propaganda was clearly defined. It was directed at the opinion-makers in neutral and allied countries – people such as journalists, politicians, government officials and teachers, ‘the principle being that it is better to influence those who can influence others than attempt a direct appeal to the mass of the population.’⁸⁰⁷

As the war dragged on, however, there was a gradual change of emphasis. While Wellington house continued to produce large numbers of books and pamphlets, there was a growing awareness of the potential of visual propaganda. In February 1916, in his second report on the work of Wellington House, Masterman wrote:

The enormous circulation of pictorial papers...reveals that there are millions of voters (who ultimately control the policies of Governments) in all countries who will not read letter press, but from whom the demand for war pictures is unlimited, and we hope greatly to develop this department in the immediate future. A particularly

⁸⁰⁵C. F. G. Masterman, *Interim Report of the Work of the Bureau Established for the Purpose of Laying before Neutral Nations and the Dominions the Case of Great Britain and Her Allies*, June 1915, p.6.

⁸⁰⁶ Claud Schuster (Wellington House) to Geoffrey Robinson (Foreign Office) 3 December, 1914, quoted in Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda*, p.101.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

effective form of propaganda has been found to be the production and distribution of illustrated newspapers.⁸⁰⁸

A week before Masterman submitted this report, Ernest Gowers, The Chief Executive Officer at Wellington House, had written to The Treasury for permission to recruit an additional member of staff who would be responsible solely for pictorial propaganda.⁸⁰⁹

The development of pictorial propaganda has rendered necessary the establishment of a branch of this office to deal with this subject exclusively. The steady increase in the work of the Department... make it quite impossible to supply this need from existing staff. I am therefore to solicit Their Lordships' authority to the recruitment of an additional officer for this purpose at a salary not exceeding £5 a week.⁸¹⁰

The person subsequently recruited, Ivor Nicholson, a journalist who had previously worked for *The Times*, took up his post on 31 January.⁸¹¹ (Figure 5.13) One of Nicholson's first tasks was to write a memorandum to the Treasury entitled *Monthly Pictorial Publication*, which proposed the publication of a monthly, photographically illustrated magazine, to be produced in several different language editions:

This is a project which has long been urged upon us by the Foreign Office, but the difficulty in finding an adequate supply of suitable

⁸⁰⁸ Charles F. G. Masterman, *Second Report on the Work Conducted for the Government at Wellington House*, 1 February 1916, p.7.

⁸⁰⁹ Sir Ernest Gowers (1880-1966) is best known for his book *Plain Words*, published in 1948. Before making his name as an author he had a long and distinguished career as a civil servant. In 1914 Gowers was working for the National Insurance Commission. When the Propaganda Bureau was set up, Gowers remained working for Masterman at Wellington House, becoming Chief Executive Officer there in July 1915. For an account of Gower's time at Wellington House, see Ann Scott (ed), *Ernest Gowers: Plain Words and Forgotten Deeds*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp.33-51.

⁸¹⁰ Letter from Ernest Gowers to The Secretary H. M. Treasury, 24 January, 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/1/11992.

⁸¹¹ In a profile of Ivor Nicholson, published in 1935, Nicholson claimed that 'When war broke out, he offered his body five times to the authorities. Then, getting discouraged, he had an interview with Lloyd George, which resulted in his being given charge of all illustrated propaganda' – Charles Gay, 'Celebrities in Cameo, No.83, Ivor Nicholson', *The Bystander*, 1 January, 1935, p.5. For an obituary for Ivor Nicholson, see *The Times*, 10 September, 1937, p.14. The Treasury retrospectively agreed to pay Nicholson's salary in March. Letter from Sir Malcolm Ramsay to Ernest Gowers, 9 March 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/1/11992.

photographs has been the principal obstacle to its fulfilment. The greater facilities recently offered in this respect by the War Office and Admiralty and the establishment of the pictorial branch of this office, have made the proposal feasible.⁸¹²

The Treasury sanctioned Nicholson's proposal, which resulted eventually in the publication of *War Pictorial*.⁸¹³

In July, Gowers wrote to the Treasury again, this time stating that 'increasing demands...on the Pictorial Branch of this department have given rise to an urgent necessity for an addition to the staff...'and asking them to sanction the employment of George Elliott Dodds at a salary of £4 a week.⁸¹⁴ Dodds' appointment came at the personal recommendation of Ivor Nicholson.⁸¹⁵ The two men were close friends who had known each other since childhood. Both from non-conformist families, they had attended Mill Hill School together, where they 'produced a school magazine so enterprising that it was promptly banned by the headmaster'.⁸¹⁶ Now, with Elliot Dodds as editor of *War Pictorial*, the two men were once again creating a magazine together.

In September 1916, in his third report on the work of Wellington House, Masterman highlighted the growing importance of photography as a tool of overseas propaganda and the recent progress that his staff had made in this area of its work:

The work of propaganda by means of illustrations, especially of photographs ...has been very considerably developed during this period. Wellington House now sends out some 2,000 photographs a week ...These have not only broken the previous German monopoly

⁸¹² Memorandum from Ernest Gowers to H. M. Treasury, 28 February, 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/1/11992

⁸¹³ Letter from Sir Malcolm Ramsay to Ernest Gowers, 9 March 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/12/11992.

⁸¹⁴ Letter from Ernest Gowers to The Secretary, H.M. Treasury, 14 July, 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/1/11992. Since August 1914, Elliott Dodds had been Assistant Editor of *The Huddersfield Examiner*.

⁸¹⁵ Perhaps in order to maintain secrecy, Wellington House seems have adopted a very personal and informal method of filling vacancies. Appointments were often made on the basis of personal recommendations, sometimes of friends or even family members. Another member of the Pictorial Propaganda Department was Nicholson's cousin, Trevor Lloyd Williams.

⁸¹⁶ *The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*, 17 April 1948, p.2.

in war pictures but show a very conspicuous dominance of pictorial matter favourable to the Allies.⁸¹⁷

In the same report, Ivor Nicholson summarised the work of the Pictorial Propaganda Department:

The Department for Pictorial Propaganda has been established a little over five months, and in that time the machinery for supplying Neutral and Allied countries with pictorial matter in every known form has had to have been created. The first obvious difficulty to be overcome was the paucity and poor quality of the British war photographs which were then being received for publication...we have been able to secure additions to the staff of official photographers at the Western Front, and the photographs that are now being produced show great improvement both in quantity and quality. The British illustrated papers have, without exception, placed their services at our disposal, and the Press Photographers' Association – a body composed of the seven principal London press photographic agents – has given us invaluable assistance...⁸¹⁸

Nicholson also reported on the successful launch of *War Pictorial*:

The *War Pictorial* is the product of this Department. It was originally known as *The Pictorial History of the War*, in which form it came to us from the Alfieri Picture Service in Fleet Street, who were contemplating publishing it. The first issue, which was principally conducted by the Alfieri Picture Service, was published in April. We then took the publication over entirely, changed its title as more truly indicative of the contents, and produced it in photogravure... This is a process whose recent invention in Germany has revolutionised

⁸¹⁷ *Third Report on the Work Conducted for the Government at Wellington House*, September 1916, National Archives CAB 37/156/6, p.5. Two months later, Ivor Nicholson could report: 'The number of photographs despatched from here has increased during the last four months from about 1,000 prints a week to over 7,000 a week, and this is a figure which is certain to increase during the next few weeks.' Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to Ernest Gowers, 22 November, 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/1/11992.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 98.

pictorial printing. Nearly all German propagandist pictures are produced in this fashion, but a few British firms, and one in particular, can turn out work quite as good and in many cases better. It...has proved a great success, as the increasing demand for it shows. It now has a circulation of over 300,000.⁸¹⁹

By early 1917, the Pictorial Propaganda Department was becoming a victim of its own success. The growing demand for propaganda photographs for its own exhibitions and publications as well as requests from allied and neutral countries, combined with the success of *War Pictorial*, meant that Wellington House's arrangement of obtaining its photographs from the Press Photographers' Association, supplemented by occasional official photography and *ad hoc* commissions, was no longer practicable.

The additional work that would be generated by a proposal made by Elliott Dodds to produce a series of photographically illustrated booklets on war activities at home persuaded Nicholson that his department now needed to employ a full-time official photographer. In June 1917, Nicholson wrote:

Dodds' scheme for publishing a series of twelve books on various phases of British war activities has rendered it immediately essential to obtain a large number of photographs of training camps, prisoners of war camps, etc. etc. This new idea, in my opinion, makes it advisable for us to have a photographer permanently attached to this Department...⁸²⁰

Nicholson already had someone in mind for the job:

⁸¹⁹ Ibid. p.99. The *War Pictorial* was produced in five different editions and in twelve different languages – English, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Swedish, German, Danish, Dutch, Russian, Greek and Japanese. The firm that Nicholson mentioned but did not name was The Illustrated London News and Sketch Ltd. Two firms placed bids to print the *War Pictorial* using the Rotary Photogravure process. The Illustrated London News won the contract having submitted the lower tender. Letter from H. M. Stationery Office to The Secretary, H. M. Treasury, 19 October, 1916. National Archives, Treasury Board Papers T/1/11992.

⁸²⁰ Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to T. O. Willson, 26 June, 1917. IWM File. T. O. Willson had recently taken over from Ernest Gowers as the Department of Information's Executive Officer Before becoming Executive Officer, Willson was in charge of propaganda distribution and Wellington House's Scandinavian Section.

For some time since I have been here, I have been in touch with Mr. Horace W. Nicholls, an expert photographer, who was sent out in the South African war as an official photographer. I am confident that this gentleman is fully qualified to act as our own photographer...I have discussed the matter tentatively with Mr. Nicholls and have ascertained that we could secure his services for £350 a year.⁸²¹

Willson forwarded Nicholson's memorandum to Masterman, commenting:

Mr. Nicholson's idea seems a good one if he can keep the man fully employed. I am not sure about the salary – it seems out of proportion to those already paid to the administrative officers here.⁸²²

Nicholson clarified Nicholls' role, stressing that he was needed not just to provide photographs for Dodds' illustrated booklets, but also, more importantly, to satisfy:

...the urgent need of securing photographs from time to time of incidents of domestic interest in this country, which, owing to the immense pressure under which the Agencies are now working we cannot rely on them to undertake.

We are constantly being asked for such photographs and if we had an officially appointed photographer, it would be very much easier for him to get the work done rapidly and efficiently than if we have to go

⁸²¹ Ibid. Given the many variables, it is extremely difficult to calculate what the equivalent salary would be in today's money. A useful comparison is the salary paid to other occupations in 1917. A major in the British army would also be paid around £350 per annum (<https://www.longlongtrail.co.uk/soldiers/a-soldiers-life-1914-1918/british-army-rates-pay-1914/>). Today, they are paid around £65,000.

⁸²² Memorandum from T. O. Willson to Charles Masterman, 27 June, 1917. IWM File. When negotiating his salary, Nicholls probably took his pre-war annual income into account. When Nicholls' salary is compared to those of other members of the department, Willson may well have had a valid point. At this time, Elliott Dodds was on an annual salary of £209 and Ivor Nicholson, as Head of Department, was on £261. When he took up his post in July 1917, Nicholls was, in fact, paid £300, with a promise that this would be increased to £350 after a few months. In March 1918, he complained that 'the latter amount has still not materialised'. Memorandum from Nicholls to Bertram Lima, 25 March, 1918. Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021. Both Nicholson's and Dodds' salaries increased markedly over the next year (Nicholson's to £450 and Dodds' to £300) whilst Nicholls' remained unchanged at £300. Ministry of Information staff returns, May 1918. National Archives.

through the formality necessary for obtaining facilities for the agency photographers.⁸²³

Nicholls had predicated his application to become an official photographer on his experience as a war photographer, enclosing a prospectus of his South African War photographs with his letter of application. Ironically, however, it was not Nicholls' war photography which secured him the job. Rather, it was his more recent experience of taking the sort of photographs that were wanted by popular illustrated magazines such as *The Bystander*, *The Graphic* and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*. A guiding principle of British propaganda was that it should not look like it had come from an official source. In order to be effective, it was thought that there should be no discernible connection between the propaganda and any official or government agency. As John Buchan, who in February 1917 became head of the newly-established Department of Information, which incorporated Wellington House, explained:⁸²⁴

...the Department must work to a large extent secretly, and as far as possible through unofficial channels. Camouflage of the right kind is a vital necessity. It can advertise its wares, but it dare not advertise the vendor. Popular opinion in every country is so delicate an instrument that attempts to play upon it in the name of a foreign Government are certain to be resented and not only lose their value but become positively injurious to our cause...We frequently receive complaints that the Government is doing nothing, and our attention is called to publications, exhibitions &c., with the comment that it is shameful that such matters should be left to private enterprise. In

⁸²³ Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to O. S. Ashcroft (Distribution section, Wellington House), 6 July, 1917. IWM File.

⁸²⁴ John Buchan is now best remembered for his novel *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, published in 1915. Alongside his writing career he had a long and distinguished political and diplomatic career. For an account of Buchan's contribution to propaganda work during the First World War, see Ursula Buchan, *Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps: A Life of John Buchan*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019. Charles Masterman remained in charge of Wellington House which became the Literature and Art Section of The Department of Information.

nearly every case the things referred to have been the work of the Department.⁸²⁵

This need for 'camouflage' was particularly important in the case of the *War Pictorial*, the department's most important publication, which Masterman considered to be 'the best piece of propaganda we do'.⁸²⁶ The *War Pictorial* was designed to look like a commercial illustrated magazine. The only name associated with its production was that of its printers, The Illustrated London News and Sketch Ltd. To further enhance the illusion, as well as being distributed freely, some copies were overprinted with a retail price and were sold through foreign newsagents.⁸²⁷ So successful was this policy of masking its official origin, some photographic historians have failed to recognise that *War Pictorial* was not a commercial magazine but a piece of official propaganda.⁸²⁸ Since taking photographs suitable for the *War Pictorial* was to form the major part of Nicholls' work, it was his experience supplying photographs to commercial illustrated magazines that made him the ideal man for the job.

Before Nicholls could take up his appointment, however, there was the slight complication that he was currently employed by the National Service Department as a Substitution Officer. Under wartime legislation Nicholls could not simply resign in order to take up a new job. Nicholson, however, was sure that 'since he has not been in this position long, and in view of the fact that photography has been his work all his life, I do not think that we shall have too much difficulty in getting the National Service Department to release him from their employment.'⁸²⁹ Nicholson was right. Nicholls was soon released from his job in Hounslow and became Official Home Front Photographer in late July or early August 1917.⁸³⁰ Before he could start taking

⁸²⁵ Collection of reports and memoranda by John Buchan, department and Ministry of Information. Queen's University, Ontario Archives. John Buchan Collection No. 130. Quoted in Ursula Buchan, *Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps*, p.207.

⁸²⁶ Statement made by Charles Masterman relative to the work done at Wellington House, 9 November, 1917. National Archives INF/4/4B. By November 1917 the *War Pictorial* had a monthly circulation of around 750,000 copies.

⁸²⁷ The French edition, *La Guerre Illustree*, for example, was priced at 30 centimes.

⁸²⁸ See, for example, Paul Wombell's article on First world War photography where he considers the *War Pictorial* alongside commercial magazines such as the *War Illustrated* and the *War Budget*, noting 'its prodigious use of official war photographs'. Paul Wombell, 'Face to Face with Themselves: Photography and the First World War', in *Photography/Politics: Two*, London: Comedia and Photography Workshop, 1986, p78.

⁸²⁹ Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to T. O. Willson, 26 June, 1917. IWM File

any photographs, however, Nicholls first had to be issued with the necessary permits.

In Britain during the First World War, photography was strictly controlled by the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). Passed on 8 August 1914, just four days after the country declared war, the Act gave the government wide-ranging powers. The Act was amended several times during the course of the war and its provisions were extended by a large number of regulations introduced through Orders in Council. One of these, Regulation 19, introduced in January 1916, stated:

No person shall, without the consent of the competent naval or military authority or the Minister of Munitions, make any photograph, sketch, plan, model or other representation of...any place or thing within any area...within which the making of such representations is prohibited.

Prohibited locations included:

Any work of defence, arsenal, dockyard, camp depot or building used for the accommodation of any of His Majesty's forces, ship, aircraft, telegraph or signal station, searchlight or war material or place where war material is or is intended to be manufactured, repaired or stored...⁸³¹

The wording of the regulation was all-encompassing. Prohibited subjects for photography also included:

Any other place or thing of such a nature that such representations thereof are calculated to be, or might be, directly or indirectly, useful to the enemy.⁸³²

⁸³⁰ The precise date that Nicholls started working for the Department of Information is not recorded but he was certainly in post before 7 August, 1917.

⁸³¹ The Defence of the Realm Act, Regulation 19, 'Prohibition on photographing, sketching, &c. of certain places and things.' (27 January, 1916 and 27 June 1916.) See *Defence of the Realm Manual* (5th Edition, February 1918), London: H.M.S.O. p.103.

⁸³² *Ibid.* P.104. This catch-all definition was intended to be balanced by the General Principle of the Act which stated that: 'The ordinary avocations of life and the enjoyment of property will be interfered with as little as may be permitted by the exigencies of the measures required to be taken for securing the public safety and the defence of the Realm'. The Act was not intended to prevent photographers, amateur or professional, from

Anyone wishing to take photographs or a prohibited subject or within a prohibited area had to apply to the police to obtain a Defence of the Realm Permit Book.⁸³³

Nicholson duly arranged for Nicholls to be issued with a permit book which allowed him to take photographs within the metropolitan area. This, however, was insufficient for the sort of work that he envisaged Nicholls would be called upon to do:

What we require is some pass to enable Nicholls to go to any part of the country at short notice...that will enable him to go to reviews of troops by the King, etc., visits of prominent people to Munition works, hospitals, etc...⁸³⁴

Subsequently, Nicholls' permit book was sent to Lt. Col. Kell at the War Office, together with an explanatory letter from Sir Reginald Brade, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War, with a request that it be endorsed by the Army Council and the Admiralty so as to enable Nicholls 'to travel to any part of the country at the shortest notice'.⁸³⁵ Special permit book supplied, Nicholls could now begin work as 'Official Photographer to the Department of Information for the purpose of taking photographs in Great Britain for publication in neutral and allied countries for propagandist purposes'.⁸³⁶ (Figures 5.14 and 5.15)

Over the next sixteen months, Nicholls took over 2,000 official photographs.⁸³⁷ Expected to be able to turn his hand to anything that might be asked of him, he

pursuing their everyday activities – '...nothing in this regulation shall be construed as prohibiting (where otherwise legal) the making of a photograph...within any photographic or other studio or a private dwelling-house or the garden or other premises attached thereto of any person or things therein'.

⁸³³ The Permit Book contained a photograph of the applicant, their physical description, and the purpose for which permission was being sought. If the application was approved, the permit book was stamped and signed by a representative of the relevant military authority.

⁸³⁴ Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to T. O. Willson, 4 August, 1917, IWM File.

⁸³⁵ Letter from T. O. Willson, Department of Information, to Lt. Col. V. G. W. Kell, 7 August, 1917. IWM File. Kell, known as 'K', was the founder and first Director of the British Security Service, otherwise known as MI5. Nicholls would have been familiar with the bureaucracy associated with obtaining the necessary permission to take photographs in wartime from his experiences during the South African War.

⁸³⁶ Ibid.

⁸³⁷ Nicholls identified his negatives using an alpha-numeric system. His negatives were prefixed by the letter K followed by a number. Negative numbers were allocated in a chronological sequence. At some point, following their transfer to the IWM, these negatives were re-numbered as 'Q' negatives, whilst retaining their sequential order. For example, K746 became Q30644, K747 became Q30645, and so on. By combining these negative numbers with the precise dates on which it is known that some of Nicholls' photographs were taken, it is possible to compile a basic chronology of Nicholls' work for Wellington House between August 1917 and December 1918 – see appendix.

demonstrated great versatility, drawing on his many years of varied experience. His photographs span a broad range of genres and applications and were sometimes produced to very tight deadlines in less than ideal conditions. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that they vary enormously, both qualitatively and aesthetically.

Nicholls used his own camera, a Newman and Guardia Nydia, repaired and serviced at the expense of the Department of Information, with the understanding that it would be replaced if it was destroyed or lost when engaged on official work.⁸³⁸ Initially, until facilities were set up at Wellington House, Nicholls also used his own darkroom at home to process his negatives.⁸³⁹

Nicholls seems to have enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in organising his own work. As a civil servant, however, he had to comply with strict financial rules.⁸⁴⁰ It was expected that staff should pay their own travel and incidental expenses which they would then claim back. While complying, Nicholls was unhappy with this arrangement since 'it means laying out these amounts and waiting sometimes as much as two or three weeks for it to be refunded'.⁸⁴¹

Nicholls' first assignment, however, required no travelling whatsoever. On 15 August he photographed American troops as they paraded through London. As the soldiers marched along Buckingham Gate *en route* to Buckingham Palace to be reviewed by King George V, Nicholls was able to photograph them from the balcony of Wellington House.⁸⁴² At this time, Nicholls also photographed a British soldier near Buckingham Palace, dressed incongruously in full battle kit. These photographs were

⁸³⁸ Nicholls estimated the replacement cost for a new camera would be £58. Memorandum from Nicholls to Bertram Lima, 25 March, 1918. Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021.

⁸³⁹ All printing, however, was done by a photographic agency in Fleet Street.

⁸⁴⁰ In April 1917, T. O. Willson compiled a detailed set of guidelines for Wellington House staff when claiming travelling and incidental expenses; All travel should be by public transport ('train, tram or omnibus'); Taxi journeys were only allowed 'in cases of urgency' and had to be individually justified; Return tickets should be bought to save money; Giving tips was not allowed; Night allowances were not payable if the member of staff could return home before midnight and, as a general catch-all, 'No unusual expenditure should be incurred without previous sanction being obtained'. Memorandum written by T. O. Willson, April, 1917. Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021.

⁸⁴¹ This is an example of one of the difficulties Nicholls faced in adjusting from life as a freelance. Letter from Nicholls to Sir Bertram Lima, 10 September, 1918. IWM File. Nicholls suggested that a better alternative would be for staff to be issued with rail warrants. This would have been similar to the arrangement that Nicholls enjoyed when he was photographing the South African War.

⁸⁴² IWM Q29997-Q30005.

commissioned for another important aspect of the work of the Pictorial Section at Wellington House – the creation of drawings to communicate propagandist information (what we would now call infographics). They were used as the basis for a graphic illustrating the relative proportions of British and Imperial troops serving on the Western Front.⁸⁴³ (Figures 5.16 and 5.17)

A few days later, Nicholls travelled to Chilwell, near Nottingham, to take a series of photographs for *War Pictorial*. These photographs have since become some of his best-known and most frequently reproduced images.⁸⁴⁴ Chilwell was the location of No. 6 Filling Factory, one of the largest munitions factories in Britain, where millions of artillery shells were filled.⁸⁴⁵ Nicholson considered Nicholls' Chilwell photographs 'striking' and the passage of time has only served to confirm his immediate reaction. Nicholls' photographs showing the immense scale of the building with artillery shells seemingly disappearing into infinity - 'a sea of shells', surrounding and threatening to overwhelm the men and women munition workers, – were a powerful visual metaphor for Britain's war effort. (Figure 5.18)

Nicholls, however, was not the first to realise Chilwell's potential as propaganda. In January 1917, Muirhead Bone, appointed by Masterman in May 1916 to be the first British official war artist, visited Chilwell where he drew *The Hall of the Million Shells*.⁸⁴⁶ (Figure 5.19) This drawing was published in Part III of his series *The Western Front*, in March 1917.⁸⁴⁷ That month, the *War Pictorial* contained a double-page panoramic photograph of the filled shell store at Chilwell which is very similar to Nicholls' panoramic views taken a few months later.⁸⁴⁸ (Figures 5.20 and 5.21)

⁸⁴³ Elliott Dodds, 'After Four Years: The Transformation of the Motherland', *Supplement to United Empire*, August 1918, p.4. IWM Q30006-Q30008.

⁸⁴⁴ IWM Q30009-Q30058.

⁸⁴⁵ Construction of the factory began in September 1915 and it started production in February 1916. During the war, over 19 million shells were filled at Chilwell. For histories of the factory, see J. Haslam, *The Chilwell Story, VC Factory and Ordnance Depot*, Nottingham: RAOC, 1982 and David Kenyon, *First World War National Factories: An archaeological, architectural and historical review*, Historic England Research Report No. 76, 2015.

⁸⁴⁶ Meirion and Susie Harries, *The War Artists: British Official War Art of the Twentieth Century*, London: N. Joseph in association with the Imperial War Museum and the Tate Gallery, 1983, pp.10-11.

⁸⁴⁷ Muirhead Bone, 'The Hall of the Million Shells', *The Western Front, Part III*, London: Country Life, March, 1917. Plate XLVIII. IWM Art.IWM ART 2203.

⁸⁴⁸ The *War Pictorial*, March 1917, pp.8-9. The photographer is not credited but may have been Ernest Milner who had photographed Chilwell for the Ministry of Munitions in 1916.

Nicholson would have been familiar with these images and may even have shown them to Nicholls before he sent him to photograph Chilwell. Despite experiencing a similar aesthetic response as Muirhead Bone to the almost surreal vista of Chilwell's 'sea of shells', however, Nicholls created his own personal vision, recording not just the building and its contents but also the men and women who laboured there to produce the tools of death and destruction. (Figure 5.22) A few weeks later, in September 1917, Nicholls again followed in Bone's footsteps when he photographed scenes in the Coventry Ordnance Works.⁸⁴⁹ Once again, Nicholls' photographs reveal a similar aesthetic response to this modern day Vulcan's forge – a place which Bone described as 'so romantic in its mingling of grimness and mystery that one thinks with compunction of the long line of romantic artists whose lot it was not to have seen it'.⁸⁵⁰ (Figures 5.23 and 5.24)

Nicholls' photographs and captions had to be submitted for censorship before they could be released for publication. Any photographs deemed to be possibly detrimental to British morale or containing information of potential use to the enemy would be rejected. Consequently, when they were published, the precise location of Nicholls' photographs of munitions factories was never revealed in their captions. Instead, they were described as having been taken 'in one of England's great shell factories' or 'in one of Britain's most important gun foundries'. In one of Nicholls' Chilwell photographs there is a railway wagon, on the side of which has been stencilled 'Chilwell'. The negative for this image has been crudely retouched by the censor in an attempt to render the word illegible.⁸⁵¹ (Figure 5.25)

Nicholls' job was to produce propaganda images for distribution to neutral and allied countries, not for domestic consumption. Masterman was unequivocal about the role of Wellington House: 'I do not want to have anything to do with propaganda in this

⁸⁴⁹ IWM Q30122-Q30155. Muirhead Bone had visited Coventry Ordnance Works in February 1917.

⁸⁵⁰ 'Night Work on the Breech of a Great Gun', *The Western Front - Drawings by Muirhead Bone*, Vol. I, Pt 65. Munitions Portfolio, Plate V. 1917. IWM Art.IWM REPRO 000593. It is highly probable that Nicholls would have been familiar with Bone's drawings made at Coventry Ordnance Works. Some examples had been published in the illustrated press (see, for example, *The Illustrated London News*, 3 March 1917, p. 263) and in June 1917 Country Life had published a portfolio of Bone's munition drawings made in Coventry,

⁸⁵¹ IWM Q30015. This has been so crudely done that it was probably the work of someone in the censor's office. Certainly, Nicholls would have done a much better job. No attempt has been made to conceal the other information stencilled on the wagon – 'NSFF F6' – National Shell Filling Factory, Factory 6.

country'.⁸⁵² Nicholson, too, was clear that, 'except in special circumstances', Nicholls' photographs 'would not be released to the British press, as this might create a certain amount of friction with the photographic agencies'.⁸⁵³ Since he relied on the Press Proprietors' Association to provide his department with photographs for publication, free of reproduction fees, Nicholson could not afford to antagonise them by infringing on their primary business of supplying images to the domestic press.

...I am greatly indebted to the photographic agencies of Fleet Street. They have supported me from the very beginning. They have naturally accumulated a large number of photographs which are of very great value to us and they have unreservedly placed their stock at our disposal and I have never paid them a copyright fee.⁸⁵⁴

The 'special circumstances' referred to by Nicholson, when Nicholls' photographs might be published in Britain, related to those locations agency photographers could not photograph easily because of the difficulties associated with obtaining the necessary permits:

The only photographer that I have engaged is Mr. Nicholls. He has a commission from my own department to take work that the photographic agents are not able to obtain. For instance, I required some photographs of munition factories. The getting of the permit for a private enterprise takes a good deal of time and also you open yourself to criticism for favouring one particular organisation.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵²Statement made by Charles Masterman relative to the work done at Wellington House, 9 November, 1917. National Archives INF/4/4B.

⁸⁵³Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to T. O. Willson, 26 June, 1917. T.O. Willson also reassured the War Office that Nicholls' photographs would 'not be circulated to the British Press unless it is considered advisable in isolated cases in the interest of propaganda'. Letter from T. O. Willson to Lt. Col. V. G. W. Kell, 7 August, 1917. IWM File.

⁸⁵⁴Interview with Ivor Nicholson, evidence taken at Wellington House for the enquiry into propaganda, 22 November, 1917. National Archives INF 4/4B. The photographic agencies did not charge a copyright or reproduction fee but Wellington House did, of course, have to pay for the photographs to be printed. According to Nicholson, the cost was 6d a print which he claimed was much less than the market rate. Ivor Nicholson, Memorandum on Photographs, 22 November, 1916. National Archives T 1/11992.

⁸⁵⁵Interview with Ivor Nicholson, evidence taken at Wellington House for the enquiry into propaganda, 22 November, 1917. National Archives INF 4/4B.

The arrangement that Nicholson enjoyed with the Photographic Proprietors' Association was not reciprocal. When official photographs were released to the P.P.A. for use by the British Press, they were expected to pay the government a percentage of any profit made from their reproduction. In the case of Nicholls' Chilwell photographs:

These photographs will be released for publication to the British press in a week or two. They will be handled by the Press Proprietors' Association, which comprises the seven leading photographic agencies. A charge of 10/6d will be made for reproduction. No expenses will be incurred by this department. The agents will take 50% of the gross profits, and we shall take the remaining 50%. This will, of course, go to the Treasury, and we may reasonably expect in time to refund Mr. Nicholls' salary in full.⁸⁵⁶

If, as Nicholson seems to have intended, Nicholls' photographs taken at Chilwell were indeed released to the British press, I have been unable to find any instances of their domestic use. However, there are other instances when Nicholls' official photographs *did* appear in British newspapers and magazines. Since these photographs were taken in military camps, they fall under Nicholson's categorisation of 'special circumstances'. In September 1917, in one of his early assignments, Nicholls photographed members of the Portuguese Expeditionary Force at Hazeley Down Camp, near Winchester.⁸⁵⁷ One of these photographs was reproduced in *The Leeds Mercury* later that month, credited to both 'L.N.A.' and 'Official Photograph'.⁸⁵⁸ Three more photographs from the same series appeared subsequently in *The Illustrated War News* on 3 October, credited as 'Official Photographs'.⁸⁵⁹ On the same trip, Nicholls also photographed women members of the Army Service Corps at the

⁸⁵⁶ Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to Mr. Ollivant (Distribution Section, Wellington House), 8 September, 1917. IWM File. In these cases, the photograph would be credited to the relevant press agency as well as 'official photo'.

⁸⁵⁷ IWM Q30092-Q30103.

⁸⁵⁸ 'Portuguese Troops Arrive', *The Leeds Mercury*, 25 September, 1917, p.6. This is a tightly cropped version of Q30098. 'L.N.A.' is the abbreviation for the London News Agency which was one of the members of the Press Proprietors' Association – see 'Press Agencies Protection Society', *The Amateur Photographer and Photographic News*, 14 August, 1916, p.130.

⁸⁵⁹ 'Men of "the Ancient Ally Training in England"', *The Illustrated War News*, 3 October, 1917, pp.32-33. IWM Q30094, Q30100 and Q30103.

nearby Avington Park Camp, which were published in the same issue of *The Illustrated War News* and also in *The Sphere*.⁸⁶⁰

Nicholls' photographs were circulated in neutral and allied countries in several different forms. Primarily, they were used as illustrations in Wellington House's own publications, in particular the *War Pictorial*; Nicholls' work appears in every issue of *War Pictorial* from November 1917 until July 1918.⁸⁶¹ In the December 1917 issue of the *War Pictorial*, no fewer than eight pages were devoted to Nicholls' photographs taken at Chilwell and Coventry – a quarter of the entire magazine.⁸⁶² That month's cover illustration was also based on one of Nicholls' photographs.⁸⁶³ (Figures 5.26 and 5.27)

Wellington House also produced photographic postcards.⁸⁶⁴ I have found two examples where Nicholls' photographs have been printed as postcards – one for distribution in France and the other for distribution in Portugal.⁸⁶⁵ (Figures 5.28 and 5.29)

As another form of propaganda, Wellington House regularly supplied photographs for display in exhibitions. On 16 October 1917, a selection of Nicholls' Chilwell and Coventry photographs was shown to members of the press at the Vandyk Gallery in

⁸⁶⁰ IWM Q30104-Q30115. 'Women and the War', *The Illustrated War News*, 3 October, 1917, p.34 – Q30112 and Q30114. 'The Work of the Women's Land Army', *The Sphere*, 13 October, 1917, p.36 – Q30112 and Q30113A.

⁸⁶¹ See appendix.

⁸⁶² See appendix.

⁸⁶³ The *War Pictorial* used colour artwork rather than photographs as cover illustrations. Ivor Nicholson was particularly proud of the magazine covers' artwork – 'I think that we have some of the finest covers that any magazine has been able to produce'. Interview with Ivor Nicholson, evidence taken at Wellington House for the enquiry into propaganda, 22 November, 1917. National Archives INF 4/4B. The drawing for the cover of the December issue of the *War Pictorial* was based on Nicholls' photograph IWM Q30040.

⁸⁶⁴ At Easter 1916, for example, 100,000 postcards containing greetings from the British soldier to the Russian soldier were sent to Russia. *Third Report on the Work Conducted for the Government at Wellington House*, September 1916, National Archives CAB 37/156/6, p.100.

⁸⁶⁵ IWM Q30029. Nicholls' original caption for this image was 'Eighteen and eighty doing their bit'. When it was shown in the Paris exhibition it was captioned 'Le printemps et l'automne de la vie' and as a postcard it was captioned 'Adolescence et vieillesse'. IWM Q30101, showing members of the Portuguese Expeditionary Force in Britain, was produced as a coloured postcard for the men to send back home - <https://www.greatwarforum.org/topic/120633-hazeley-down-camp-winchester/page/3/> (accessed 01/08/2019).

London, prior to being despatched to Paris for exhibition.⁸⁶⁶ *The Amateur Photographer & Photographic News* reported:

Another intensely interesting collection of British war photographs was shown in London last week at the Galleries of Messrs. Vandyk...The pictures...are principally the work of the official photographers, Lieut. Ernest Brooks, Lieut. Warwick Brooke, who are on the western front; Lieut. Bernard Grant, the official naval photographer; and Mr. Horace Nicholls, who is attached to the pictorial section of the Department of Information.⁸⁶⁷

A report of the event in the *Liverpool Daily Post*, made a passing reference to Nicholls' photographs taken at Chilwell:

It is intended to give a thoroughly representative survey of Great Britain's activities from shell-filling and shipbuilding to bombing and mine-laying. These remarkable photographs have been taken by the official photographers...The work, from a purely artistic point of view, is highly creditable, and Britain's prestige should be well maintained at the exhibition.⁸⁶⁸

Following their brief appearance at the Vandyk Gallery, Nicholls' photographs were sent to Paris where they were installed in the *Jeu de Paume* as part of the British contribution to the *Deuxième Exposition Interalliée de Photographies de Guerre*.⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁶ Carl Vandyk was born in Germany but became a naturalised British subject in 1886. A successful society portrait photographer, he opened his new studio and gallery in Buckingham Palace Road, above the Hotel Rubens, in May 1914. *The Observer* described it as 'The most luxurious photographic establishment in Great Britain', *The Observer*, 17 May, 1914, p. 18. The Vandyke Galleries were only three minutes' walk from Wellington House in Buckingham Gate.

⁸⁶⁷ 'British War Photographs for France', *The Amateur Photographer & Photographic News*, 22 October, 1917, p. 258. See also the *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 16 October, 1917, p.3.

⁸⁶⁸ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16 October, 1917, p.4.

⁸⁶⁹ The *Deuxième Exposition Interalliée de Photographies de Guerre* was held at the *Salle de Jeu de Paume*, Paris, from 15 November to 15 December 1917. A poster for the exhibition is in the IWM archive - Art.IWM PST 12758. Wellington House also provided the photographs for the British section for the first inter-allied photographic exhibition, which was held in Paris in October 1916 – see Art.IWM PST 12759. This exhibition later toured several venues, including the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in May, 1917. It is notable that the British section included a large panoramic photograph taken at Chilwell, 'showing a wonderful expanse of big shells' – see *The Times*, 11 January, 1917, p.10. The photographer was probably Ernest Milner. There is a photograph of the British section of the show, including this panorama, in the V and A Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection – Ref 651-1917. See also 'At the Allied Exhibition of Photographs of the

This exhibition comprised over 1,000 photographs, representing the war efforts of Belgium, America, Italy, Britain, Romania, Russia and Serbia, as well as the host nation. The British section, comprising 128 photographs, was arranged in nine different groups. Fourteen of Nicholls' photographs were shown as part of a group entitled *La Fabrication des Munitions*.⁸⁷⁰ (Figure 5.30) In November, three complete replica sets of the British section of the exhibition were sent to New York at the request of Geoffrey Butler for exhibition in the United States.⁸⁷¹

As well as being used in Wellington House's own publications, Nicholls' photographs were sent abroad for publication in newspapers and magazines in neutral and allied countries:

Whole plate press prints of...domestic photographs of propagandist interest obtained either through the photographic agencies and illustrated papers, or by our own photographer, Mr. Horace Nicholls, are sent out regularly in very large numbers to British Embassies, Consulates, or individuals or organisations approved by them or by the Foreign Office in London, for gratuitous reproduction in the neutral and allied press.⁸⁷²

Here again, great care was taken to conceal the fact that the photographs came from a British government source. In North America, for example, Nicholls' photographs were credited to Underwood & Underwood, a prominent firm of commercial photographic publishers.⁸⁷³

War', *The Illustrated War News*, 16 May, 1917.

⁸⁷⁰An album of installation photographs of this exhibition is held at the *Musée d'Histoire Contemporaine* in Paris – Ref. VAL 360. There is a list of the British photographs in this exhibition in the Wellington House files at IWM. Nicholls' photographs were in 'The Making of Munitions' section, Catalogue No. s 91-106. In addition, there was a three-print panorama – 'The War of Munitions: a forest of British shells' – Catalogue No.118.

⁸⁷¹IWM File. Geoffrey Butler was head of the British Bureau of Information in New York.

⁸⁷²Interview with Ivor Nicholson, evidence taken at Wellington House for the enquiry into propaganda, 22 November, 1917. National Archives INF 4/4B.

⁸⁷³See, for example, a selection of Nicholls' Chilwell photographs reproduced in the *New York Tribune*, 4 November, 1917, p.8. Founded in 1881 by two brothers, Bert and Elmer Underwood, the company made their reputation publishing stereoviews, becoming the world's largest producer. Around 1910 they diversified into press photography. Underwood and Underwood had an office in London which may have influenced Wellington House's decision to use them as their distribution agents in North America. The United States had declared war on Germany in April 1917. With the goal of U.S. entry into the war accomplished, British propaganda changed from a policy of persuasion to one of information, informing the American public of British policy and Britain's war effort. In June 1917 the British government set up a formal propaganda agency

As well as supplying images for the Department of Information's own propaganda initiatives, the Pictorial Propaganda Section fulfilled photographic requests from other official agencies, such as the British Bureau of Information in New York. One of Nicholls' first commissions was to take portraits of prominent British newspaper editors 'in response to a request from the British Pictorial Service for photographs of interesting personalities in Great Britain'.⁸⁷⁴

At the time that Nicholls was taking these portraits, Ivor Nicholson had an idea for another subject that would be of interest to an American readership – Britain's nascent National War Museum.⁸⁷⁵ Nicholson's idea was to result in Nicholls' first contact with the institution which he was to be associated with closely for the next seventeen years.

On 31 August 1917, Nicholson wrote to the National War Museum's recently-appointed Director, Sir Martin Conway:

This department is responsible for the use of official photographs, drawings, etc., for propagandist purposes in neutral and allied countries. We have recently appointed a photographer exclusively to this Department for the purpose of obtaining photographs in this country of subjects which have a propagandist value... From letters which I have received from New York, I am convinced that the National War Museum is a subject in which the Americans would be

in New York, the British Bureau of Information, headed by Geoffrey Butler. One of the Bureau's tasks was to improve the supply of information to the American press and arrange for articles and photographs to be published in American newspapers and magazines. For British propaganda in the United States, see M. L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War*, London: The Macmillan Press, 1982, pp.167-207.

⁸⁷⁴ The British Pictorial Service was part of the British Bureau of Information. The editors photographed by Nicholls were Robert Donald (Daily Chronicle), James Garvin (Observer), Lord Burnham (Daily Telegraph), Alfred Gardiner (Daily News) and Thomas Marlowe (Daily Mail). IWM Q30077-Q30091. Memorandum from Ivor Nicholson to Mr. Ollivant (Distribution Section, Wellington House), 8 September, 1917. IWM File

⁸⁷⁵For the origins and early history of the Imperial War Museum, see: Susanne Brandt, 'The Memory Makers: Museums and Exhibitions of the First World War', *History and Memory*, 6:1, Spring-Summer 1994, pp. 95-122. Diana Condell, *The Imperial War Museum 1917-1920: a study of the institution and its presentation of the First World War*, unpublished M.Phil thesis, CNA, 1985. Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History*, London: Leicester University Press, 1994, pp. 117-152. Gaynor Kavanagh, 'Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (January, 1988), pp. 77-97. See also Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums, and Memory in Britain, Canada, and Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 237-255.

deeply interested. I would very much like to obtain some photographs of you and the members of the Committee in session. This is the kind of personal photograph which the Americans greatly appreciate, and I would like to send my own photographer to your offices one day to obtain this picture.⁸⁷⁶

Conway, conscious of the need to raise public awareness of his fledgling museum, agreed readily to Nicholson's request.

The idea of a national museum dedicated to the war came about through a series of individual initiatives, the most important of which came from Charles ffoulkes, Curator of the Tower Armouries.⁸⁷⁷ As Curator of the Tower Armouries, ffoulkes was employed by the Ministry of Works. On 7 February 1917, ffoulkes met with Viscount Harcourt to discuss his suggestion that the Armouries should take responsibility for collecting war memorabilia. Until December 1916, Harcourt had been First Commissioner of Works, before being replaced by Sir Alfred Mond after the political coup which toppled Asquith as Prime Minister and replaced him with Lloyd George. Harcourt was receptive to ffoulkes' ideas but, conscious of his diminished influence with the current government, advised him to encourage the press to take up the subject. Subsequently, on 21 February 1917, *The Times* published an article by ffoulkes which suggested that a war museum be established within the Tower of London.⁸⁷⁸ In the meantime, Harcourt had approached his successor as First Commissioner of Works. Mond had both the authority and influence to progress the idea of a national war museum. On 27 February 1917, Mond wrote a memorandum to Lloyd George, entitled 'National War Museum', suggesting that the Treasury should contribute £3,000 'to cover purchases, where gifts are not available, and any running expenses for secretarial and record work'.⁸⁷⁹ On 5 March 1917, the War

⁸⁷⁶The photographer was Horace Nicholls. Letter from Ivor Nicholson to Sir Martin Conway, 31 August, 1917. IWM ART/WA1/528.

⁸⁷⁷ For his account of his role in the founding of the Imperial War Museum see, Charles ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, London: John Murray, 1939, pp. 89-157. In 1915, the Armouries made a few minor acquisitions of war material. ffoulkes later claimed that at the time he considered that the role of the Armouries should be to collect 'the war material of the present, as it had dealt with the war equipment of the past'. ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, p.85.

⁸⁷⁸*The Times*, 21 February 1917, p.9.

⁸⁷⁹*National War Museum*. Memorandum by Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works, 27 February 1917. The National Archives CAB 24/6/84.

Cabinet approved Mond's proposal and authorised the formation of a committee to establish a National War Museum.⁸⁸⁰ ffoulkes, who probably thought that he was the obvious choice to be its first Director General, had to be satisfied with the role of Secretary since Mond favoured the politician, art critic and acclaimed mountaineer, Sir Martin Conway for the position.⁸⁸¹ On 26 March 1917, *The Times* reported on the decision to form a National War Museum, listed the appointments to its committee and outlined the museum's remit:

The object is to collect and preserve for public inspection objects illustrating the British share in the war. The exhibits will comprise examples of the arms and other war materials used by the British naval and military forces, trophies captured from the enemy, souvenirs found on battlefields, inventions connected with munitions making at home, the literature and art of the war...maps, the music of the war, placards issued by the government in connexion (sic) with the recruiting, economy and loan campaigns, medals and decorations, flag-day souvenirs, and autograph letters of some of those who have taken distinguished parts in the war.⁸⁸²

The National War Museum Committee began its work in late March 1917. Its first priority was to collect suitable exhibits for the proposed museum.⁸⁸³ In April 1917, Conway put forward his vision for the museum in a pamphlet distributed to members of the armed forces:

When peace returns and men are back at home the years will pass
and memory of the great days and adventures through which they

⁸⁸⁰This committee would consist of a Chairman, Director-General and Honorary Secretary, together with representatives from the Admiralty, War Office, and Ministry of Munitions.

⁸⁸¹ See Martin Conway, *Episodes in a Varied Life*, London: Country Life, 1932. For a biography of Sir Martin Conway and his daughter, Agnes, see Joan Evans, *The Conways: A History of Three Generations*, London: The Museum Press, 1966.

⁸⁸²*The Times*, 26 March 1917, p.5. The committee members were: Sir Alfred Mond (Chairman), Sir Martin Conway (Director General), Cmdr. C.C. Walcott (Admiralty), Col. J .R. Stansfield (Munitions), B.B.Cubitt (War Office), Ian Malcolm MP, Prof C.W.C. Oman and Charles ffoulkes (Curator and Secretary).

⁸⁸³To facilitate this, a number of sub-committees were set up, each responsible for collecting in specific areas. The Sub-Committees were: Admiralty, War Office, Air Services, Munitions, Library, Dominions and Women's Work. There was also a Medical Section. *Report of Imperial War Museum 1917-1918*, London: HMSO, 1918, p.3. It was recognised that there were some areas where the committees' interests overlapped, for example, with material relating to the medical services, munitions and 'women's work'.

lived will grow dim. It is the purpose of the Museum to be a place where they can visit with their comrades, their friends, or their children, and there revive the past and behold again the great guns and other weapons with which they fought, the uniforms they wore, pictures and models of the ships and trenches and dug-outs in which weary hours were spent, or of positions which they carried and ground every yard of it memorable to them.⁸⁸⁴

Believing that 'such an assemblage will be a dead accumulation unless it is vitalized by contributions expressive of the action, the experiences, the valour and the endurance of individuals', Conway stressed that the museum would also collect personal documents, souvenirs and photographs of 'persons and places'.⁸⁸⁵ This pamphlet is the first indication of the museum's aspiration to create a comprehensive pictorial record of the war. Despite public statements that it would form a record of the war 'by means of photographs', the museum did not have its own photographer or darkroom. Instead, it relied on soliciting donations or purchasing photographs from agencies and commercial photographers. The museum also became increasingly linked with the work of those government departments which also actively commissioned and collected photographs, including the Department of Information.

In early October, after he had returned from photographing Coventry Ordnance Works, Nicholls finally found time to photograph the Committee of the National War Museum.⁸⁸⁶ (Figure 5.31) On 16 October, Nicholson wrote to ffoulkes: 'I am making a present to you of the two large portraits of the committee in deliberation'.⁸⁸⁷ These

⁸⁸⁴ Quoted by Gaynor Kavanagh in *Museums and the First World War: A Social History*, pp.129-130 and also by Paul Cornish in 'Extremes of Collecting at the Imperial War Museum 1917-2009: Struggles with the Large and the Ephemeral' in Graeme Were and J.C.H. King (eds), *Extreme Collecting: Challenging Practices for 21st Century Museums*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012, p.158.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid. Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, p.130.

⁸⁸⁶ IWM Negatives Q30156 and Q30157. These negatives follow on directly in sequence from Nicholls' photographs of Coventry Ordnance Works. The Committee members were all men: Ian Malcolm (Art), Martin Conway (Director General), Alfred Mond (Chairman), Colonel J.R.Stansfield (Munitions), Captain C.C.Walcott (Admiralty), B.B.Cubitt (War Office), C.W.C.Oman (Library) and Lieutenant Charles ffoulkes (Secretary). Lady Norman wasn't invited to join the Executive Committee to represent the Women's Work Sub-Committee until August 1918.

⁸⁸⁷ Letter from Ivor Nicholson to Charles ffoulkes, 16 October, 1917. IWM ART/WA1/512. ffoulkes responded immediately, asking for six more prints of the committee members since 'I rather think they are all more or less vain.' Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Ivor Nicholson, 16 October, 1917. IWM ART/WA1/512.

were the first photographs taken by Nicholls to be acquired by the Imperial War Museum. That same day, ffoulkes made the short walk from his office to the Vandyk Gallery to see the preview of the British contribution to the Inter-allied Photographic Exhibition in Paris. Upon returning to his office, ffoulkes wrote to Nicholson:

‘The photographs of Vandyk’s are admirable...we should like the long photographs of the shell factory and the fleet framed...Mr Nichol’s (sic) prints are exactly what we want. I should like two copies of each enlargement for this office...’⁸⁸⁸

Shortly afterwards, Nicholls began to receive regular requests from ffoulkes to take photographs for the museum.⁸⁸⁹ This suggests that these requests may have stemmed from informal discussions that day between Nicholls, Martin Conway and ffoulkes.⁸⁹⁰ Soon afterwards, in order to formalise the arrangement, ffoulkes attended a meeting with Ivor Nicholson and Ernest Gowers at Wellington House. Nicholson, recognising the potential propaganda value of photographs relating to the activities of the war museum, agreed to provide Nicholls’ services free of charge, provided that these requests did not interfere with the work of the pictorial propaganda section and that they could also have use of the resulting photographs.⁸⁹¹ Nicholls’ museum-related work was eventually to take up an increasingly significant proportion of his

⁸⁸⁸ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Ivor Nicholson, 16 October, 1917. IWM ART/WA1/512. The ‘shell factory’ photograph was the panoramic view of the filled shell store at Chilwell, made from three separate negatives - IWM Negatives Q30056, Q30057 and Q30058. Despite working closely with him for 15 years, ffoulkes seemed to have a problem spelling Nicholls’ name. In his autobiography ffoulkes refers to him as ‘Mr. Horace Nichols’. (ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, p. 117)

⁸⁸⁹ The earliest correspondence I have found between ffoulkes and Nicholls regarding photography commissioned by the IWM is dated 22 October 1917 and refers to photographs of charms and mascots from a collection made by Edward Lovett. These probably correspond to IWM Negatives Q30177-Q30182. The museum’s first annual report mentions ‘A small collection of war charms, mascots, amulets &c., is being collected with the assistance of Mr. Edward Lovett. These are temporarily exhibited at Cumings Museum, Southwark’, *Report of Imperial War Museum 1917-1918*, HMSO, April, 1918, p.5.

⁸⁹⁰ Nicholls’ photographs of the museum committee are IWM Negatives Q30156 and Q30157. The next sequence of negatives contains record photographs of objects from the IWM Collection. Some of these photographs were included in the Nicholls’ family album for 1917, which he compiled in December 1917, including Q30159, Q30160 and Q30166. These are captioned: ‘Some curiosities in possession of the Imperial War Museum’.

⁸⁹¹ See, for example, Nicholls’ memo to ffoulkes on 29 October, 1917: ‘Herewith I enclose 20 contact prints of the 20 documents etc I recently photographed for you if you will just quote the numbers of any you would like {enlarged}, it shall be done. For our own record purposes these prints will be large enough and I should be much obliged if you will let me have them back with a brief description of each document.’ These prints probably correspond to a series of IWM Negatives numbered around Q30200. One of these (Q30202) shows the cover of a ship’s magazine, dated 1 October, 1917.

time. Initially, however, museum requests accounted for a relatively small part of his output.⁸⁹²

The primary reason Nicholson had used to justify the appointment of a photographer was that Elliott Dodds' scheme to produce 'a series of books on various phases of British war activities' made a full-time photographer an immediate necessity. Consequently, one of Nicholls' first commissions was to take a series of photographs illustrating the stages that a recruit went through during enlistment for a publication entitled *From Desk to Trench*.⁸⁹³ (Figure 5.32) As its title suggests, this booklet presented a narrative, describing the journey that many men took from home to battlefield. Nicholls took 18 photographs, recording new recruits arriving at the recruiting office, swearing an oath, being measured and medically examined and, finally, being issued with their uniforms and kit.⁸⁹⁴ (Figure 5.33) Eight of these photographs subsequently appeared in *From Desk to Trench*. They are carefully staged, with the participants ignoring the camera's presence. As Tynan and Biernoff have observed:

He saw how photographs of men's bodies could be dramatized to tell a story. While this kind of work had documentary appeal, he was clearly drawn to the more pictorial uses of photography, and made 'studies' of his subjects.⁸⁹⁵

'Making 'studies' was precisely what was expected from Nicholls. As he had explained to Ivor Nicholson:

The chief aim of my work in Photography is pictorial effect in preference to photographing anything [and] everything.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹² Between August 1917 and July 1918 only about 200 of the more than 1,000 photographs that Nicholls took for Wellington House were at the request of the museum.

⁸⁹³ *From Desk to Trench: The Making of a British Soldier*, printed by J.E.C.Potter, Stamford, England, 1917. IWM LBY K. 12 / 189824pp. For an online version, see:

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/dcmsiabooks.fromdesktotrench00unse/?st=gallery>

⁸⁹⁴ IWM Q30059 - Q30076. These photographs were taken between 22 August and 8 September 1917. For a discussion of this series of photographs, see Jane Tynan and Suzannah Biernoff, 'Making and remaking the civilian soldier: The World War I photographs of Horace Nicholls', *Journal of War & Cultural Studies*, Vol.5, No.3, 2012, pp. 277-293.

⁸⁹⁵ Tynan and Biernoff, 'Making and remaking the civilian soldier', p.280.

⁸⁹⁶ Letter from Nicholls to Ivor Nicholson, 7 September, 1916. IWM Files.

Nicholls' photographs were not intended as a documentary record but as propaganda. Tynan and Biernoff consider that producing this form of propaganda required a new approach on the part of the photographer:

Domestic propaganda demanded innovation and Nicholls' response was to create an aesthetic that both reflected official preoccupations and allayed public concerns.⁸⁹⁷

Nicholls, however, did not create a new aesthetic for the work he carried out for the Department of Information. It was, rather, an existing aesthetic that he had honed over many years and which can be seen in his pre-war work for the illustrated press. Nicholls' ability to create a narrative through a series of staged photographs, for example, had already clearly been demonstrated in his photo sequence *The Tale of a Salmon*, published in 1910, which I have described in Chapter Four (see Figures 4.39 – 4.42).⁸⁹⁸

Nicholls was both an artist and a journalist. As early as 1890, in an article on newspaper illustration, a journalist had written:

...our artistic skill has led us into temptation, and by degrees engendered a habit of making pictures when we ought to be recording facts. We have thus, through our own cleverness, created a fashion and a demand from the public for something which is often elaborately untrue.⁸⁹⁹

Already a 'picture-maker', Nicholls now became a propagandist. His photographs, whilst informational, were not intended to be a documentary record of Britain's war effort; to read them as such is to view them through an early twenty-first century lens. One of the main tenets of Wellington House's work was to avoid any accusations of fabrication. As Masterman explained, 'We have determined to present facts and general arguments based on facts'.⁹⁰⁰ The use of photographs as

⁸⁹⁷Tynan and Biernoff, 'Making and remaking the civilian soldier', p.279.

⁸⁹⁸'The Tale of a Salmon', *Badminton Magazine*, September, 1910, pp. 299-315.

⁸⁹⁹H. Blackburn, 'The Illustration of Books and Newspapers', *Nineteenth Century*, February 1890, pp.213-224. Quoted in Taylor, *War Photography*, p.44.

⁹⁰⁰C. F. G. Masterman, *Interim Report of the Work of the Bureau Established for the Purpose of Laying before Neutral Nations and the Dominions the Case of Great Britain and Her Allies*, June 1915.

propaganda, however, created and accentuated tensions in the relationships between news, propaganda and documentary practice. As Martyn Jolly has observed in his study of composite propaganda photographs during the First World War:

In this context, propagandists and photographers found themselves having continually to finesse the balance between the qualities of authenticity, actuality and immediacy...The value of authenticity had never been more politically crucial, but at the same time the need to provide scenographic spectacle to feed the public appetite for images, and the need to re-cohere fragmentary and disjointed images into readily legible images, created a huge temptation to fake.⁹⁰¹

In his magazine work, even in his photography of news events such as the funeral of Edward VII, Nicholls had never felt constrained in his use of composite imagery. In contrast, while he was working for Wellington House, Nicholls did not create any composite photographs. This does not mean, however, that his 'straight' photographs are objective, documentary images. Despite their seeming verisimilitude, Nicholls' photographs for *From Desk to Trench* are carefully staged and composed theatrical constructs. Nicholls posed his subjects and compressed time to capture in a single day events that would in reality have occurred over several days or even weeks. Moreover, it is not known whether the men photographed are actual recruits or 'models' who had volunteered their services for the day⁹⁰² However, despite acknowledging their creation for use as propaganda, some commentators maintain that Nicholls' photographs have a documentary value. Rob Powell describes them as 'a remarkable and comprehensive photographic documentary that far exceeded, and outlived, its original purpose...As social documentary they are of immense value'.⁹⁰³

⁹⁰¹ Martyn Jolly, 'Composite Propaganda Photographs during the First World War', *History of Photography*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Summer 2003, pp.154-165.

⁹⁰² For a comparison with images of the same subject which appeared in a contemporary popular magazine, see 'The Recruit – How he is Trained through the Early Stages of a Soldier's Career', *The Sphere*, 14 November, 1914, pp.170-171.

Practices such as those employed by Nicholls were not regarded as 'fakery' but fell within the accepted conventions of the illustrative journalistic magazine photography which Wellington House was attempting to emulate in its publications. Similarly, standard journalistic practices such as cropping and retouching were regarded as acceptable. Nicholls' photographs were regularly cropped for publication, and occasionally retouched to enhance their composition by removing distracting elements in the background.⁹⁰⁴ (Figures 5.34 and 5.35)

When he took his photographs for *From Desk to Trench* Nicholls had the benefit of prior knowledge of the location. This was Hounslow recruiting office, where, albeit for only a few weeks, Nicholls had until very recently worked as a Substitution Officer. Nicholls knew the building well and was a friend of the officers who worked there.⁹⁰⁵ While the idea of tracing the transformation from civilian to soldier may have come from Elliott Dodds, the suggestion of using Hounslow as the location almost certainly came from Nicholls.

Throughout his career, Nicholls regularly used his family as subjects for his commercial photography and often photographed locations with which he had a personal connection. The ambiguous role which photography played in Nicholls' life - both public and private, personal and professional - is frequently evidenced in his work. Between 1914 and 1917, Nicholls' children and his experiences as a member of the U.A.V.R. were the subjects of his photographs that appeared in the press. This blurring of the boundary between personal and professional continued after he became an official photographer. When one considers Nicholls' later work for Wellington House, it becomes clear that his photographs taken in Hounslow were just the first of many instances when his personal life informed and shaped his professional practice.

⁹⁰³ Rob Powell, 'Levels of Truth: The Life and Work of Horace Nicholls', *The British Journal of Photography*, 3 July, 1981, p.673.

⁹⁰⁴ For an example of retouching, see IWM Q30236, *Cooking a Patriotic Christmas Dinner*. When this was reproduced in the *War Pictorial* some of the background was removed by retouching. *The War Pictorial*, January 1918, p.3.

⁹⁰⁵ The Nicholls family album for 1917 contains snapshots taken at Hounslow showing the recruiting officers who subsequently appeared in *From Desk to Trench*. See, for example, Lt. Frederick T. Chapman who appears as the officer reading the oath in Q30071.

On a practical level, for convenience, Nicholls often photographed locations with which he was familiar. His photographs of a milkwoman making her deliveries, for example, were taken in Hayes, near his wartime home.⁹⁰⁶ Similarly, his photographs of women road sweepers and a postwoman were taken in Ealing, near his house in Amherst Avenue that he rented out during the war.⁹⁰⁷ On a more personal level, Nicholls also photographed the pupils at Steyne School in Worthing, which all of his children had attended and where his youngest daughter, Peggy, was still a student.⁹⁰⁸ (Figure 5.36)

Even seemingly 'neutral' locations photographed by Nicholls sometimes conceal a personal connection. In November 1917, Nicholls photographed scenes at Oxford University.⁹⁰⁹ Two photographs taken by Nicholls during this visit are of a student in his rooms at Keble College, described as 'having been discharged from the British Army due to ill health following a period of service in Egypt and France'. The student appears very relaxed and at ease. This was not purely down to Nicholls' skill as a photographer. Nicholls had known the young man since he was a baby. He is William Samuel Goch, the son of James Frederick Goch who had owned the Goch Studio in Johannesburg where Nicholls had worked.⁹¹⁰ (Figure 5.37) Earlier that year, William Goch had visited the Nicholls family home, where he was photographed by Nicholls in the garden.⁹¹¹ Similarly, when Nicholls photographed women workers at Holme flour mill in Biggleswade in September 1918 he was already familiar with the location and would have been assured of having a warm welcome. Nicholls was a good friend of the mill's owner, William Jordan, and was a regular visitor to Biggleswade.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁶ IWM Q31137-Q31143.

⁹⁰⁷ IWM Q30954-Q30962.

⁹⁰⁸ IWM Q31152-Q31175. In a group photograph, Q31169, Peggy Nicholls is in the third row, sixth girl from the left.

⁹⁰⁹ IWM Q30259-Q30292. A selection of these photographs was used in the *War Pictorial* in February 1918, pp.8-11.

⁹¹⁰ IWM Q30292. William Samuel Goch was born on 12 July, 1896 and died on 4 June 1922. Despite being born in South Africa, in 1914 he enlisted in the 1st Australian Infantry Battalion and served in Egypt and France. He was discharged on medical grounds on 7 March 1917. According to the Keble College Centenary Register 1870-1970, he matriculated to Keble College in Michaelmas Term 1917.

⁹¹¹ This visit probably took place in March before George returned to the Front. 'George and "Baas" Goch', Nicholls family album, 1917.

⁹¹² IWM Q30934-Q30947. The Nicholls family album for 1916, for example, includes views of the interior of William Jordan's house and a tea party in his garden.

Usually, Nicholls' willingness to use aspects of his personal life to facilitate his propagandist activities was mutually beneficial to both Wellington House and himself. Occasionally, however, this blurring of the professional and personal became problematic. In September 1918, Nicholls photographed scenes at Valley Farm in Huntingfield, East Suffolk.⁹¹³ Two of Nicholls' daughters, Peggy and Violet, appear in several of these photographs. Normally, this would not have been a problem. On this occasion, however, Nicholls made the mistake of also taking a group photograph, entitled *The Harvesters of 1918*, of his daughters with all the farm workers, including four very happy looking German prisoners of war who had been assigned to work on the farm.⁹¹⁴ (Figure 5.38) Nicholls' permit book prohibited him from photographing prisoners of war without special permission.⁹¹⁵ Consequently, after his photographs had been passed to the censor, Nicholls was summoned to see the local Intelligence Officer to receive a severe reprimand and be reminded that even though he worked for the government he was still liable for prosecution. Nicholls subsequently tried to explain his actions:

...the object of my journey on this occasion was to photograph Woman in her varied War Activities, for which no Special Permit was necessary, and while busy with this work, the opportunity of photographing the group of Harvesters in question presented itself, and I felt that it should not be missed...

I am afraid that my inclination would always be to secure a photograph which might be of value to the cause, rather than risk losing it by waiting for a Special Permit...but as I understand it since my interview with the Intelligence Officer, I must use no discretion of this nature.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹³ IWM Q31034-Q31045.

⁹¹⁴ IWM Q31044 and Q31045. The use of German prisoners of war in agriculture was virtually ignored for the greater part of the war, but in 1918 this was radically changed; prisoners were utilized in agriculture on a large scale, especially during the last few months of the war, and agriculture dominated the allocation of prisoner labour. See P. E. Dewey, 'Government provision of farm labour in England and Wales, 1914-18', *Agricultural History. Review*, 27/2, 1979, pp, 112-114.

⁹¹⁵ The prohibition of photographing POWs was a general one and not specific to Nicholls.

⁹¹⁶ Memorandum from Nicholls to Wallace Roome, Ministry of Information, 3 October, 1917. IWM File. Wallace D. Roome had transferred to the Ministry of Information from the Daily Mirror where, as the newspaper's Managing Director, he had worked closely with Bertram Lima, its Chairman, who had been appointed head of

Despite his protestations, Nicholls was being somewhat disingenuous in his explanation. None of the photographs in this series show women engaged in war activities. Indeed, the only women who appear in the photographs are Nicholls' daughters. Moreover, the group photographs are clearly not opportunistic but have been carefully arranged. At no point does Nicholls mention that his daughters appear in the photographs. Once again there is a strong personal connection which has informed Nicholls' choice of location and subject. Valley Farm was owned by a good friend of Nicholls' named Caleb Soundy. Caleb also owned a drapery business in Biggleswade and was a mutual friend of William Jordan who owned Holme Mill where Nicholls had recently photographed.⁹¹⁷ The inference must be that Nicholls did not want his superiors at the Ministry to know that he had travelled to Suffolk for a family holiday and to visit some old friends – once again combining business with pleasure.⁹¹⁸

Many of Nicholls' personal photographs, taken before he became an official photographer, find an echo in his later propaganda images. A photograph of his son, George, being greeted on the doorstep by his mother when returning home on leave, for example, bears a striking resemblance to one of the photographs in his series *Fourteen Days' Leave*.⁹¹⁹ (Figures 5.39 and 5.40)

Given the similarity of their subject matter, it is perhaps unsurprising that some of Nicholls' propaganda photographs are strongly redolent of his earlier commercial work. His photograph of a farm girl wearing a sou'wester, for example, mirrors his earlier portraits of Gladys Cooper.⁹²⁰ (Figures 5.41 and 5.42) Similarly, Nicholls'

the Ministry's Photographic Section.

⁹¹⁷ Nicholls' friendship with the Soundy family can be traced back to Caleb's brother John Soundy who owned a drapers shop in Peascod Street, Windsor, near the bakery run by Nicholls' father-in-law, George Holderness. Nicholls' eldest son, George, was a close friend of Caleb's youngest son, Cecil. After the war Cecil took over the running of Valley Farm. The two families remained good friends and Nicholls often visited.

⁹¹⁸ A photograph in the 1918 Nicholls family album shows Nicholls with his wife and children enjoying afternoon tea in the farmyard with Caleb and his wife Anna.

⁹¹⁹ *1915 - Age 20. Returns home after 9 months in the Trenches of Flanders*, Nicholls family album for 1915. IWM Q30403. Similarly, a photograph of George recuperating in Winchester in 1916 after being wounded, is echoed in Nicholls' photograph of American troops in Winchester, taken in October 1918. Nicholls family album for 1916, IWM Q31227.

⁹²⁰ IWM Q31005. Compare with 'Miss Gladys Cooper's Sou'wester', *Daily Mirror*, 27 October, 1913, p.11.

photograph, *Good Morning*, finds an echo in his portrait of a woman worker at Holme flour mill.⁹²¹ (Figures 5.43 and 5.44)

This photograph of a woman flour mill worker is a good example of the subject matter with which Nicholls is now most closely associated – recording the role of women as part of Britain’s war effort during the First World War. As Buckland has noted:

Nicholls will always be remembered as the photographer who captured the moment when women walked out of their homes and into men’s jobs. The combination of a seemingly thorough investigation, a simplicity of approach and a brilliance in perception make his ‘women at war’ photographs one of his most profound contributions to the history of photography.⁹²²

It would be wrong, however, to consider his early commissions from Wellington House as falling in to this category. While Nicholls’ photographs, such as those taken at Chilwell and Coventry, include many women, they were not taken specifically to record women at work. Rather, they were intended to present a general impression of Britain’s war effort. A selection of Nicholls’ Chilwell photographs was reproduced by Wellington House in a small booklet, produced in several different languages, entitled *Britain’s Mighty Effort: Some wonderful scenes in one of England’s great shell factories*. While a woman munition worker appears on the cover of this booklet, the images inside are not exclusively of women.⁹²³ When Nicholls’ photographs of Chilwell and Coventry were exhibited in Paris as part of the *Deuxième Exposition Interalliée de Photographies de Guerre*, they were shown in the *Fabrication des Munitions* section and not in *Le Travail des Femmes Britanniques en Temps de Guerre*.

⁹²¹ ‘Good Morning!’, *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 1 September 1917, p.1. IWM Q30934.

⁹²² Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p.138.

⁹²³ The workforce at Chilwell was not, of course, exclusively female. In March 1917, 7,452 people were employed at the factory, of whom 1,730 (23%) were women. David Kenyon, *First World War National Factories: An archaeological, architectural and historical review*, Historic England Research Report No. 76, 2015, p.223.

Nicholls' 'women at war' photographs came later and were the result of his close association with the Imperial War Museum's Women's Work Sub-Committee which was responsible for assembling a record of women's contribution to the war effort. This sub-committee first met on 26 April 1917. None of the committee members had any experience of museum work and owed their appointments to the fact that they were the wives or daughters of well-connected politicians, military figures or, in Agnes Conway's case, the museum's Director-General. What they lacked in knowledge, however, they attempted to compensate for by enthusiasm and hard work. Its all-female membership included Priscilla, Lady Norman as 'Chairman' and Sir Martin Conway's only child, Agnes Ethel Conway as its Honorary Secretary.. Lady Norman, who was also active in the suffrage movement, remained involved with IWM as a trustee until 1962, becoming the longest serving trustee in the Museum's history.⁹²⁴ The other members of the Sub-Committee were Lady Haig, Lady Askwith, Lady Violet Mond (Sir Alfred Mond's wife), Mrs Carey Evans, Miss Durham, and Miss Monkhouse. The collection these women assembled became known as the Women's Work Collection.

The history and scope of the Women's Work Collection has been researched by Mary Wilkinson and Deborah Thom.⁹²⁵ The Imperial War Museum's first annual report outlined the remit of the Women's Work Section:⁹²⁶

This section deals with the formation of a record of war activities of women in the medical and nursing services, canteen work, auxiliary Navy and Army services, relief work, industrial substitution economy, agriculture &c, by means of photographs, pamphlets and reports,

⁹²⁴ Although described by a contemporary as 'somewhat fragile in appearance' (Wilkinson, 'Patriotism and duty', p.32) Lady Norman had run a hospital in France during the early months of the war. Devoted to her father, Agnes Conway inherited his interest in art and archaeology – in the 1920s she was a major figure in the excavations at the Ancient city of Petra in Jordan. During the early months of the war she worked with a Voluntary Aid Detachment helping wounded Belgians and refugees.

⁹²⁵ See Mary Wilkinson, 'Patriotism and duty: The Women's Work Collection at the Imperial War Museum', *The Imperial War Museum Review*, No. 6, 1991, pp.31-37. See also Deborah Thom, 'Making Spectaculars: Museums and How We Remember Gender in Wartime' in Gail Braybon (ed), *Evidence, History and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914-18*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005, pp. 48-66.

⁹²⁶ The museum's name was changed from National to Imperial War Museum in November 1917 at the request of the Dominions Sub-Committee who wanted a name that ensured 'India and the Dominions would feel that their part in the War would be permanently commemorated in the centre of the Empire.'

and a large amount of most valuable information is being tabulated for record purposes.⁹²⁷

The photographs acquired by the Women's Work Sub-Committee were either supplied by commercial photo agencies or commissioned from freelance photographers. In October 1917, one of its members, Miss Wolfe Murray, wrote to the Honorary Secretary, Agnes Conway, the daughter of the museum's Director, Sir Martin Conway, expressing her dissatisfaction with the current arrangements

Present methods I find very unsatisfactory. Only three photos ordered since July have been delivered...Mr Hare suggested that we should have our own official photographer, he has had some talk with Sir Martin on the subject...⁹²⁸

Conway replied: 'I have been talking over the photograph question with Father and paying an extra official's salary seems absolutely out of question.'⁹²⁹

The Museum's need for an effective means of obtaining photographs assumed greater urgency when it was decided to publicise the museum's activities through a series of temporary exhibitions, a significant part of the content of which would consist of photographs. From the beginning of 1918, in the absence of a permanent home and conscious of the need to raise public awareness of its work, the museum embarked on a series of temporary exhibitions. The first of these was held at Burlington House, the home of the Royal Academy.

As part of the exhibition, Agnes Conway was anxious to illustrate the many ways in which women were contributing to the war effort. Specifically, she wanted photographs of women in uniform as the most visible expression of women's commitment to the national cause. For a woman, wearing a uniform was regarded as an especially significant visible manifestation of her patriotism:

This is the age of uniforms. Men wear them because they must; women because they love them...Dress expresses so much for the

⁹²⁷ *Report of Imperial War Museum 1917-1918*, London: HMSO, 1918, p.6.

⁹²⁸ Letter from S. Wolfe Murray to Agnes Conway, 19 October, 1917. IWM EN1/3/COR/005. Kenneth Hare was the Museum's Keeper of Photographs.

⁹²⁹ Letter from Agnes Conway to S. Wolfe Murray, 21 October, 1917. IWM EN1/3/COR/005.

woman. The uniform is the outward and visible sign of her patriotism...Uniforms have sifted out the women in England. The woman who wears uniform is entirely different from the woman who does not - yet.⁹³⁰

By the time the Royal Academy exhibition had been agreed, Charles ffoulkes, the Imperial War Museum's curator had forged links with Ivor Nicholson of the Pictorial Propaganda Section at Wellington House. As a result, Nicholls had already begun to receive requests from ffoulkes to take photographs for the Imperial War Museum. ffoulkes contacted Nicholson on behalf of the Women's Work Sub-Committee. Nicholson agreed to help. On 19 October ffoulkes wrote to Miss Wolfe Murray:

I have seen Mr. Nicholson and told him you were coming to talk things over. Will you arrange for a series of photographs for your department. I would suggest that it might be of interest to have a series of single figures of Women in War work costumes taken the same size as the figures which we shall show dealing with Military uniforms...I want as much as possible to have the photographs of the same size.⁹³¹

Miss Wolfe Murray wrote at once to Agnes Conway:

I have just received...a minute from Mr. ffoulkes asking me to discuss the whole Women's Work Propaganda question with Mr. Nicholson, Saturday, to-morrow afternoon, (that being Mr. Nicholson's only possible time) and asking me to arrange for a series of single photographs showing the different women's uniforms, he wants these uniform in size and character with those which the men are collecting. It would certainly be rather nice to have the feminine counterpart of their collection.⁹³²

⁹³⁰ Peg Scott, 'The Age of Uniforms', *Evening News*, 24 January, 1918.

⁹³¹ Memorandum from Charles ffoulkes to S. Wolfe Murray, 19 October, 1917. IWM EN1/3/COR/005. Underlined by ffoulkes. ffoulkes was clearly thinking about the potential taxonomic uses of these photographs.

⁹³² Letter from S. Wolfe Murray to Agnes Conway, 19 October, 1917. IWM EN1/3/COR/005.

Despite the exhibition opening being only a couple of months away, Agnes Conway would have to wait before Nicholls could find an opportunity to take the photographs she needed. Nicholls was a busy man. On 17 November he photographed a reception held at the Grafton Gallery in London in honour of the visiting Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos.⁹³³ A few days earlier, he had photographed Chesterfield House in Mayfair, the temporary residence of the American diplomat 'Colonel' Edward House during his visit to Britain.⁹³⁴ During the last week of November he took a series of photographs of a tank and war trophies exhibited in Trafalgar Square as part of a campaign to promote the sale of War Bonds.⁹³⁵ He then travelled to Cambridge to take a series of photographs of the members of Officer Cadet Battalions based in Cambridge Colleges, having taken a similar series at Oxford Colleges earlier in the month.⁹³⁶

In early December 1917, with time pressing, Agnes Conway wrote a series of letters to women whose names had been put forward by their organisations as suitable subjects to be photographed in uniform:

Dear Madam,

The National War Museum is trying to arrange for a series of photographs of men and women to be taken in uniform to form a Portrait Gallery of war workers. These are being taken by the Propaganda Department free of charge.

(.....) suggested that you might be willing to have yourself taken in uniform for this series. If you would be good enough to do this would you make an appointment with: -

Mr. W. H. Nicholls (sic)

⁹³³ IWM Negatives Q30256-Q30258. For an account of the event, see *The Times*, 19 November, 1917, p. 7.

⁹³⁴ Colonel House was in London between 7 and 22 November, 1917. IWM Negatives Q30246-Q30255.

⁹³⁵ The exhibition began on 26 November – see 'War Bonds from a Tank', *The Times*, 26 November, 1917, p. 5. IWM Negatives Q30328-Q30334. Letter from Horace Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 7 December, 1917. IWM... Upon receiving the photographs, ffoulkes wrote to Nicholls 'The photographs are admirable. If they are sent to the Press, will you put a note at the bottom that several of the most interesting exhibits are the property of the Imperial War Museum'. Letter from ffoulkes to Nicholls, 8 December, 1917, IWM...

⁹³⁶ The Cambridge series are IWM Negatives Q30295-Q30327. The Oxford series are IWM Negatives Q30259-Q30292. A selection of Nicholls' Oxford and Cambridge photographs were reproduced in *War Pictorial*, February 1918, pp. 8-17.

8, Buckingham Gate, S.W.

Nicholls set aside three days in December to take the photographs, during which time he took a total of 61 photographs.⁹³⁷ He was extremely fortunate with the weather. December 1917 was the sunniest December in London since 1886.⁹³⁸ Good weather was essential since Nicholls did not have a studio and had to work outdoors. Even with sunny weather, however, Nicholls had to work quickly. His working day was limited since in December it would be dark before 4.00pm. The office of the Pictorial Propaganda Department was at 8 Buckingham Gate. Nicholls improvised and took the photographs on the building's roof. The nondescript background was the result of practical (and pragmatic) rather than aesthetic considerations.

The photographs are carefully composed, with the women's feet framed by the parallel lines of roll joints on the leaded roof. The horizontal bands of tiles and bricks in the background are out of focus, rendered abstract by the shallow depth of field which also serves to isolate the women from their environment. This may well have been Nicholls' intention, but it would also have been practical for him to take the photographs using a large aperture lens setting given the weakness of the December sunlight. Ultimately, it was the women's uniforms rather than the background that was important. (Figure 5.45)

While there were a number of poses that followed well-established visual conventions when photographing soldiers – standing to attention, sloping arms, at ease, for example - this was not the case when photographing women in uniform, in particular, when the uniform was associated with nursing or civilian work, such as transport, rather than military service.⁹³⁹ This differentiated status was evident in the

⁹³⁷ IWM Q30335-Q30395. The days were 10-12 December.

⁹³⁸ *Monthly Weather Report of the Meteorological Office*, Vol. 34, No. 12, December 1917.

⁹³⁹ This distinction may have been in ffoulkes' mind when he referred to 'War work costumes' as opposed to 'Military uniforms. Memorandum from Charles ffoulkes to S. Wolfe Murray, 19 October, 1917. IWM...It is probably more likely, however, that ffoulkes was expressing the common sentiment at the time that the term 'uniform' conferred a degree of service and sacrifice on the wearer that was inappropriate in the case of women. The term 'costume' hints at the suggestion that the women were merely 'playing at being soldiers'. For reactions to women in uniform, see Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002 and Lucy Noakes, *Women in the British Army: War and the 'Gentle Sex', 1907-1948*, London: Routledge, 2008.

absence of any formal instructions for the photographer, such as those provided for taking photographs of men in uniform. When taking these photographs, beyond the requirement that each portrait had to be full length in order to show the entire uniform, Nicholls seems to have been left to employ his own professional judgement.

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In the absence of any instructions to the contrary, it was natural that Nicholls should fall back on the posing conventions familiar to him from decades of studio portraiture. Most of the women adopt serious, if not apprehensive, facial expressions, commensurate with perceptions of service and sacrifice. For some, however, the instinct to smile for the camera was simply too strong.⁹⁴¹

Nicholls sent a set of enlargements to Agnes Conway on 2 January 1918, giving just enough time for them to be mounted, captioned and installed before the exhibition opened on 7 January.⁹⁴²

In its preview of the exhibition, *The Times* drew special attention to the display of women's work:

This section includes a selection of photographs illustrating almost every class of work on which women are employed...over 1,000,000 women are now employed in the production of munitions, and this section is a striking illustration of the important part they are playing in the prosecution of the war. The exhibit comprises over 500 specimens of work and nearly 1,000 photographs.⁹⁴³

The review in *The Times* makes no specific mention of Nicholls' photographs of women in uniform. Some other newspapers, however, did single them out for comment – their observations reflecting the chauvinistic, male-dominated, nature of journalism at the time and the fact that the gaze here is male:

⁹⁴⁰When responding to a Naval Nursing Sister who had sent a photograph for possible inclusion in the series that was deemed unsuitable, Agnes Conway wrote: 'What I really wanted, in order to produce a uniform series, was a photograph showing the whole figure.' Letter from Agnes Conway to Sister Margaret Abraham QARNNS, 27 December, 1917, IWM...

⁹⁴¹This can be seen, for example, in IWM Negatives Q30341, Q30373 and Q30379.

⁹⁴²The Imperial War Exhibition ran from 7 January until the 24 February 1917.

⁹⁴³*The Times*, 7 January, 1918, p. 9.

Photographs of over 40 different war uniforms worn by British women are shown in the Women's Section of the Imperial War Exhibition at Burlington House. From the little War Office Messenger girl, the munition and agricultural workers, the nurses and W.A.A.C.s to the G.P.O. women, they portray as fine specimens of good-looking girlhood as a nation could desire.⁹⁴⁴

The fact that most reviews of the exhibition do not mention Nicholls' photographs is understandable when one sees installation photographs of the room in which they were displayed. In February 1918, Nicholls took a series of photographs showing the various sections of the exhibition.⁹⁴⁵ In his photograph of the Women's Work section, the walls are covered with a densely packed display of hundreds of photographs.⁹⁴⁶ Elizabeth Edwards has considered similar hanging schemes used in photographic exhibitions organised by the National Photographic Record Association (NPRA):

'...the seriality of these images and the massing of their presentation emphasised their informational rather than aesthetic quality, and indeed suppressed the picturesque elements in the photographs by the stressing of seriality and their archival potential'.⁹⁴⁷

Nicholls' photographs of women in uniform are displayed in one corner. They are easily overlooked, overwhelmed by the sheer mass of other photographs that surround them.⁹⁴⁸ (Figure 5.46)

Nicholls' photographs of women in uniform were described as 'a series' and were intended to be viewed as a group rather than individually.⁹⁴⁹ It is their seriality and

⁹⁴⁴*The People*, 20 January, 1918, p.4. See also, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 January, 1918, p.5.

⁹⁴⁵Nicholls' photographs are IWM Negatives Q30494-Q30500. Nicholls' fellow home front photographer at the Department of Information, G. P. Lewis, also took a series of photographs of the displays, IWM Negatives Q27716-Q27723.

⁹⁴⁶IWM Negative Q30498.

⁹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2012, p. 232.

⁹⁴⁸ It is possible to identify some of the individual photographs. These include IWM Negatives Q30339, Q30343, Q30344, Q30372 and Q30378.

⁹⁴⁹For a complete listing of the exhibition's contents, see *Catalogue of the Imperial War Exhibition, Burlington House, 1918*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1918. The catalogue entry for Nicholls' photographs appears on page 20. The photographs are not listed individually but as 'A Series of Photographs of Women in Uniform, (Taken by the Propaganda Department, Wellington House.)'

taxonomic qualities which resonate most strongly with some contemporary viewers, prompting comparisons with the work of photographers such as August Sander. In *The Golden Summer* Gail Buckland writes:

More cerebral, more haunting...are the images of one, two or three women in front of nondescript backgrounds, sombrely dressed, doing nothing except looking back at the photographer. Instead of tools they seem to hold thoughts, and to carry their load of apprehensions as visibly as the sack of coke. As in the work of great master photographers such as Nadar and August Sander, Nicholls proves once again that often the most straightforward portrait carries the greatest intensity.⁹⁵⁰

Lacking the sense of movement and theatricality that characterises Nicholls' later photographs of women at work, and divorced from their context, be it street, factory or field, Wellington House clearly deemed these photographs to be unsuitable as propaganda images outside an exhibition context.⁹⁵¹ Consequently, they were not used by Wellington House for any of their illustrated propaganda publications. Indeed, since they were taken, they have rarely been reproduced at all.⁹⁵² Ironically, given that today some critics, most notably Buckland, consider them to be amongst his finest work, Nicholls himself appears to have regarded them as unexceptional. It is notable that, unlike practically all his other commissions, he did not include examples of any of these photographs in his family albums or in the album of his wartime work that he compiled for Sir Martin Conway.

After taking his photographs of women in uniform, Nicholls did not do a great deal of work for the Imperial War Museum over the next few months, concentrating instead

⁹⁵⁰Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 139. 'Sack of Coke' is a reference to Nicholls' series of photographs of women workers at the South Metropolitan Gas Works, Old Kent Road, London, which included women coke heavers carrying sacks of coke – see IWM Negatives Q30859-Q30864.

⁹⁵¹ Compare, for example, Nicholls' photograph of a member of the Women's Land Army, IWM Negative Q30351, with his many photographs taken the following year showing members of the Women's Land Army at work. Nicholls' photograph of three members of the Women's Land Army raising their hoes in salute, IWM Q30678 is frequently reproduced.

⁹⁵² In *The Golden Summer*, Buckland reproduces just one photograph from the series. A notable exception is Diana Condell and Jean Liddiard, *Working for Victory? Images of Women in the First World War*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987, which reproduces six photographs from this series.

on his work for Wellington House.⁹⁵³ In early February 1918, Horace Nicholls visited the 3rd London General Hospital where he took a series of photographs of sculptor Francis Derwent Wood and his assistants casting, fitting and painting prosthetic masks.⁹⁵⁴ Nicholls took twelve photographs to which he gave detailed descriptive captions under the heading *Repairing War's Ravages: Renovating Facial Injuries by Means of Mask Attachments*.⁹⁵⁵

The photographs are in two distinct groups. The first consists of 'before' and 'after' portraits of a young man with a facial wound which is then covered with a prosthetic mask attached to a pair of spectacles, together with a photograph of the piece of shrapnel extracted from his face which caused the wound.⁹⁵⁶ The second group consists of seven photographs which together form a visual narrative of the different

⁹⁵³In April 1918, Nicholls took another 16 photographs of women in uniform at Agnes Conway's request. This time he photographed them in the enclosed back yard of the Women's Work Sub-Committee's offices at 9 Queen Anne's Gate. IWM Q30612-Q30627. He also photographed a number of men in uniform, probably at the request of Charles ffoulkes. IWM Q30203-Q30233. Between January and July 1918, Nicholls' photographs appeared in every issue of the *War Pictorial*. See appendix. His work for Wellington House during this period included photographing the aftermath of the bombardment of Great Yarmouth, Derwent Wood's prosthetic masks, workers at Gretna Green, shipbuilding in Newcastle and Sunderland, the Government Clothing Department in Pimlico and the war work of Boy Scouts and Sea Scouts.

⁹⁵⁴ An approximate date for the photographs can be ascertained from the known dates of Nicholls' negatives which immediately precede and follow them in the IWM's numerical series. Negatives Q30416 - Q30426 show the aftermath of the German bombardment of Great Yarmouth on 15 January 1918. Negatives Q30461-Q30464 show exhibits at the Imperial War Exhibition held at the Royal Academy which ended on 24 February 1918. Biernoff dates the photographs to 'the summer of 1917' (Suzannah Biernoff, 'The Rhetoric of Disfigurement in First World War Britain', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 24 (3), 2011, p. 678.). Gehrhardt dates the first set of photographs to 1915 (Gehrhardt, *The Men with Broken Faces*, p. 183.). For Derwent Wood's life and works, see Matthew Withey, *The Sculpture of Francis Derwent Wood*, London: Lund Humphries, 2015. Also, Sarah Crellin, 'Hollow Men: Francis Derwent Wood's Masks and Memorials, 1915-1925', *Sculpture Journal*, Vol. 6, 2001, pp. 75-88. Recently, significant research has been undertaken into facial mutilation and plastic surgery – which has been described as a 'hidden history' of the First World War. See, in particular, the work of Andrew Bamji, Suzannah Biernoff and Marjorie Gehrhardt: Andrew Bamji, *Faces from the Front*, Solihull: Helion & Company, 2017. Suzannah Biernoff, *Portraits of Violence: War and the Aesthetics of Disfigurement*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017. Marjorie Gehrhardt, *The Men with Broken Faces: Geules Cassées of the First World War*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2015.

⁹⁵⁵ IWM Q30449-Q30460. This is the title given to the photographs in the IWM's bound albums of photographs and in the album of First World War photographs compiled by Nicholls which is now part of The Royal Photographic Society Collection - 2003-5001_0002_26632. Nicholls cannot claim originality in coming up with this poetic, yet misleading, title – the ravages of war are concealed rather than repaired. He was possibly inspired by the propaganda film with this title showing the work of the army rehabilitation centre at Roehampton, Surrey, which was produced for the Department of Information in November 1917. A Spanish language version of this film is held by IWM (IWM 1098). On the current IWM website the photographs are grouped under the more prosaic, but still misleading, title, 'The Development of Reconstructive Plastic Surgery during the First World War'.

⁹⁵⁶ IWM Q30449-Q30451.

stages in the making of a prosthetic mask, together with two photographs showing masks in various stages of production and a selection of completed masks and attachments.⁹⁵⁷ (Figure 5.47)

The photographs are carefully posed, with Derwent Wood, his assistants, and their patient, seemingly unaware of the photographer's presence, forming a series of tableaux. When viewed in sequence, Nicholls' photographs take on a serial, cinematic quality, and this is clearly how they were intended to be seen. In her book, *Portraits of Violence: War and the Aesthetics of Disfigurement*, Suzannah Biernoff acknowledges the pluralistic status of Nicholls' photographs, describing them as 'a new kind of photojournalism, blending "pictorial effect" with topical interest'.⁹⁵⁸

As artful historical documents...what can Nicholls's photographs tell us? It is impossible to answer this question without first establishing what the photographs are, if not propaganda. Why were they taken? How were they used?⁹⁵⁹

Given the powerful contemporary culture of aversion to facial disfigurement which she describes vividly in her book, Biernoff concludes that Nicholls' photographs, given the nature of their subject matter were 'unseen by the public' since they 'were never likely to appear in the illustrated press' and 'it is hard to imagine them serving as propaganda'.⁹⁶⁰ Were Nicholls' photographs 'too politically sensitive' for public viewing? The men who appear in Nicholls' photographs are disfigured. However, their wounds are clearly far less horrific than those which many suffered and which are recorded in contemporary medical photographs. Nicholls' subjects might therefore be said to present, as it were, the acceptable face of disfigurement. The inference is that they were chosen specifically as suitable to be viewed by a general audience since, as Marjorie Gehrhardt has observed in her study of 'broken faces' (*gueules cassées*), 'Too dreadful a sight would have shocked the viewers and

⁹⁵⁷ IWM Q30452-Q30460.

⁹⁵⁸ Suzannah Biernoff, *Portraits of Violence: War and the Aesthetics of Disfigurement*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017, p. 97.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid* p. 96.

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid*. See also, Suzannah Biernoff, 'The Face of War', in *Ugliness: The Non-Beautiful in Art and Theory*, Andrei Pop and Mechtild Widrich (eds), London: I.B.Tauris, 2014, p. 38-39.

possibly have disheartened them, at a time when keeping up the country's morale was crucial.⁹⁶¹

Nicholls' role was to take photographs for the purposes of propaganda. This is why these photographs were commissioned and this is how they were used. Their comparative 'invisibility' stems not from any perceived sensitivity of their subject matter but from the fact that Nicholls' work was intended to be published in neutral and allied countries rather than in Britain. In April 1918, all twelve of Nicholls' photographs were published as a double-page spread in *The War Pictorial*.⁹⁶² (Figure 5.48) In the United States, Nicholls' photographs were distributed to the popular press credited to Underwood & Underwood. Under this arrangement, a selection of seven of Nicholls' photographs appeared in the June 1918 issue of *Popular Science Monthly* under the heading *First Heal the Wounds, then Hide the Scars by Covering Them with Artistically Shaped Masks*.⁹⁶³

Nicholls' photographs taken at the 3rd London General Hospital give us an insight into one of the ways in which Wellington House decided which topics would make suitable subjects for pictorial propaganda. What prompted Ivor Nicholson to send Nicholls to photograph Derwent Wood's work at this particular moment? Since most of Nicholls' photographs were intended for the pages of illustrated magazines, it made sense for Nicholson and Elliott Dodds to peruse the popular press for apposite topics. Many of the subjects and locations that Nicholls photographed had appeared previously in magazines. For example, women workers at the South Metropolitan Gas Company and Lt. Rimington's horse training establishment near Shrewsbury.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶¹ Marjorie Gehrhardt, *The Men with Broken Faces: Geules Cassées of the First World War*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2015, p. 187.

⁹⁶² *The War Pictorial*, April 1918, pp. 8-9. For foreign editions, see also *La Guerre Illustree*, April 1918, pp. 20-21 and *De Oorlog in Beeld*, April 1918, pp. 8-9. *War Pictorial* does not use Nicholls' title, *Repairing War's Ravages*. The photographs are reproduced under the caption *A British Sculptor's "War Service": Renovating Facial Injuries by Means of Mask Attachments*. The layout of these photographs in the magazine is identical to that used by Nicholls in the personal album he compiled of his work (RPS Collection 2003-5001_0002_26632). This would suggest that Nicholls had some input into the magazine's design since it is highly unlikely that he would have used someone else's design layout for his personal album.

⁹⁶³ *Popular Science Monthly*, June 1918, pp. 874-875.

⁹⁶⁴ See Alfieri's photographs of coke heavers - 'Women War Workers of London', *The Illustrated War News*, 27 February 1918 and Nicholls' photographs taken at the same location a few months later - IWM Q30859-Q30864. Also, 'A Borstal for Bucephalus: How four-footed army outlaws are reclaimed', *The Graphic*, 21 October, 1916 and IWM Q30912-Q30933.

(Figures 5.49 and 5.50) In Derwent Wood's case, in February 1918, just before Nicholls' visit, an article about his prosthetic work was published in *The World's Work* magazine, illustrated with photographs taken by Francis Beeson.⁹⁶⁵ It was the appearance of this article which undoubtedly prompted Nicholson to despatch Nicholls to photograph Derwent Wood.⁹⁶⁶ Nicholls, too, would have seen this article and it is interesting to compare his photographs with those taken by Beeson.

(Figures 5.51 and 5.52)

In March 1918 the Department of Information was absorbed into a new Ministry of Information under Lord Beaverbrook.⁹⁶⁷ As part of the reorganisation, the Photographic Section was removed from Nicholson's control and placed under the charge of Captain Bertram Lima:⁹⁶⁸

Mr. Ivor Nicholson has agreed that we should take over the negatives of all pictures taken by Horace Nicholls... Please see him and arrange to accept these, and have them carefully kept under lock and key, after one print has been taken of each negative.⁹⁶⁹

Nicholls had had photographs published in the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Pictorial* when Lima was Chairman of both newspapers but the two men do not seem to have met before Lima took up his role at the Ministry of Information. Nicholls sent Lima a copy of his catalogue of his South African War photographs to show:

⁹⁶⁵ George Frederic Lees, 'Facial Masks for the Wounded', *The World's Work*, February 1918, pp.247-255.

Francis Thomas Beeson F.R.P.S. was the principal photographer for George Newnes Ltd.

⁹⁶⁶ Wellington House knew about Lees' article. When Nicholls' photographs were published in the US in *Popular Science Monthly*, the article also included a portrait of Derwent Wood, taken by Beeson, which had been reproduced in *The World's Work*.

⁹⁶⁷ For the background to the formation of the Ministry of Information, see Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War*, pp.75-79.

⁹⁶⁸ Bertram Lima had been Chairman of the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial* and had worked with Beaverbrook at the Canadian War Records Office. For a portrait of Lima, see 'British Propaganda in Enemy Countries', *The Times History and Encyclopaedia of the War*, 30 December, 1919, p.330. Bertram Lima was knighted in June 1918 – see *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 7 June, 1918, p.6686.

⁹⁶⁹ Memorandum from Captain Lima to Captain Castle, Photographic Section, Ministry of Information, 8 April, 1918, IWM File.

...apart from the production of photographs for journalistic illustration, I also try to keep in view what subjects may have a commercial value for sale as prints.⁹⁷⁰

The appointment of Lima, with his commercial newspaper background, introduced a greater element of professionalism into the Photographic Section. Nominally, Nicholls was employed full time, but, in practice, at least according to his own interpretation, his working hours under Ivor Nicholson had been very flexible:

The understanding has always been that I report every week day at the office, and should there be nothing to occupy me, my time is at my own disposal.⁹⁷¹

Now, things changed. Under Lima, Nicholls was expected to submit a weekly report, listing what he had photographed each day and the number of negatives taken.⁹⁷²

Coinciding with Lima's appointment, there seems to have been a change of priorities for Home Front Propaganda with a greater emphasis now being placed on photographing women's contribution to the war effort. As the war dragged on, and more men were conscripted, women took on a greater and more visible contribution, undertaking traditionally masculine occupations and roles. The changing roles of women workers during the First World War has been the subject of extensive research by, amongst others, Gail Brayborn, Susan Grayzel, Arthur Marwick and Angela Woollacott.⁹⁷³ The role played by photography in recording women's war work – in particular, the photography commissioned by the Women's Work Sub-Committee of the IWM – has been explored by Claire Bowen.⁹⁷⁴ Whereas the

⁹⁷⁰ This was a copy of the same catalogue that Nicholls had sent to Ivor Nicholson in September 1916. Letter from Nicholls to Capt. Lima, 25 March, 1918, Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021.

⁹⁷¹ Memorandum from Nicholls to Bertram Lima, 25 March, 1918. Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021. If this was indeed the case, things soon changed. According to a staff return of the Photographic Department at the Ministry of Information compiled in May 1918, Nicholls' minimum weekly attendance was 43 ½ hours.

⁹⁷² Memorandum from Captain Lima to Horace Nicholls, 30 April, 1918. IWM File. Unfortunately, only three of these weekly reports, for June 1918, seem to have survived.

⁹⁷³ For the changing role of women during the First World War, see Gail Brayborn, *Women Workers in the First World War*, London: Croom Helm, 1981, Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002, Arthur Marwick, *Women at War 1914-1918*, London: Fontana, 1977 and Angela Woollacott, *On Her their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994.

⁹⁷⁴ Claire Bowen, 'Recording women's work in factories during the Great War: The Women's Work Sub-Committee's "substitution" project', *Revue Lisa*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 2008, pp.27-39.

images of working women produced by the Ministry of Information on the home front were commissioned by men (with a degree of input from women) and taken by male photographers (Horace Nicholls and G.P.Lewis). The Women's Work Sub-Committee commissioned the portrait photographer, Olive Edis, to document women in the auxiliary services on the Western Front. Recently, valuable research has been undertaken looking at the contribution of women to First World War photography, a previously neglected topic, presenting the conflict from a female perspective. Hilary Roberts of IWM has written about the work of Olive Edis and Christina Broom.⁹⁷⁵ The photography of Olive Edis, Mairi Chisholm and Florence Farmborough has been researched by Pippa Oldfield of Impressions Gallery in Bradford who has curated a touring exhibition of their work, *No Man's Land: Women's Photography and the First World War*.⁹⁷⁶ From a German viewpoint, the amateur work of Käthe Buchler, until very recently unknown outside her home city of Braunschweig, was shown for the first time in Britain in 2017 in an exhibition entitled *Beyond the Battlefields*.⁹⁷⁷ The accompanying exhibition catalogue includes an essay written by Pippa Oldfield which discusses Buchler's images in the wider context of women's photography of war in the early twentieth century.⁹⁷⁸

The photographs of women produced by the Ministry of Information were not solely or primarily for immediate publication but were taken with the intention of forming a collection that would form a lasting archive.⁹⁷⁹ From May 1918 the Photographic Section began sending out letters to businesses enquiring whether interesting photographs might be taken to illustrate jobs where women had replaced men. For example:

⁹⁷⁵ Hilary Roberts, *British Women Photographers of the First World War*, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/british-women-photographers-of-the-first-world-war> (accessed 12/04/2022). For the work of Christina Broom, see also, Anna Sparham, *Christina Broom, Soldiers & Suffragettes: The Photography of Christina Broom*, London: Philip Wilson, 2015.

⁹⁷⁶ Pippa Oldfield, "Snapshots from No Man's Land", *British Art Studies*, Issue 8, <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-08/poldfield>

⁹⁷⁷ <https://www.voicesofwarandpeace.org/voices-activity/beyond-the-battlefields/> (accessed 12/04/2022)

⁹⁷⁸ Pippa Oldfield, 'Käthe Buchler in Context: Women's Photographic Viewpoints on War in the Early Twentieth Century' in Matthew Shaul, *Beyond the Battlefields: Käthe Buchler's Photographs of Germany in the Great War*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2018, pp 45-50.

⁹⁷⁹ This change of emphasis is reflected in the fact that Nicholls did not have any of his photographs reproduced in the *War Pictorial* after July 1918.

The Ministry of Information is desirous of making a complete collection of photographs illustrating the wonderful manner in which women have taken the place of men during the war...It would be an esteemed favour therefore if you would let us know if you think we could obtain good photographs and if so if you would grant us permission to send a representative.⁹⁸⁰

The Ministry's emphasis was on obtaining 'good' and 'striking' photographs rather than creating a truly representative picture:

Can you let us know...if in your opinion their work would lend itself to the obtaining of striking photographs? The public like to see photographs with plenty of machinery as this convinces them that the women are engaged on really arduous duties.⁹⁸¹

Nicholls seems to have started work on this scheme in mid-May 1918.⁹⁸² He contacted Agnes Conway, asking for advice, and she sent him a list of potentially useful contacts:

I am sending you all I have been able to find out about the occupations for which you asked...[the Ministry of Labour] furnished me with a list of a great many places where women were performing

⁹⁸⁰ Letter from J. B. Browne, Photographic Section, to Messrs Scowcroft and Sons, Wigan, 8 June, 1918, IWM Files.

⁹⁸¹ Letter from J. B. Browne, Photographic Section, Ministry of Information, to The Austin Motor Co. Ltd, 20 June, 1918. IWM File.

⁹⁸² A letter of introduction, written on 10 May, reads: 'This is to state that Mr. Horace Nicholls, Official Photographer to the Ministry of Information, and the bearer of this letter, is visiting the various centres of women's war activities for the purpose of obtaining a series of photographs, illustrating women's work in war time'. Letter of introduction from The Secretary, the Ministry of Information, 10 May, 1918. IWM File. The first work done by Nicholls as part of this scheme were his photographs of members of the Women's Land Army and the Forestry Corps – IWM Q30652-Q30724. At this time, Nicholls had still not given up hope of enlisting. On 1 July 1918, he wrote: 'I have offered myself since the War started (but without success) on many occasions. Last time was on June 15th this year at Recruiting Office Whitehall where I was told that having attained 51 in Feb of this year I was not wanted'. Note from Nicholls to J. B. Browne, Ministry of Information, 1 July, 1918, in reply to a request for information on the eligibility of staff for war service for a report on the work of the Photographic section. Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021. Nicholls had just missed out on eligibility by a couple of months. The Military Service Act of 10 April, 1918, had increased the maximum age for recruits from 40 to 50. Nicholls' fifty-first birthday was on 17 February, 1918. Even if he was eligible, however, Nicholls would probably not have been accepted on medical grounds.

new processes, in the hope that we might be able to arrange to have them photographed.⁹⁸³

At the same time, coincidentally, the Women's Work Sub-Committee initiated their own, similar, project.

In June 1918, Agnes Conway wrote to Ivor Nicholson:

The Women's Section of the Imperial War Museum is most anxious to secure a certain number of photographs of the most interesting forms of substitution due to the war in factories...

We should be extremely glad if we could once more profit by the services of Mr. Nicholls in this matter, who has already done so much to help us.⁹⁸⁴

On 25 July, Sir Martin Conway wrote to the Ministry of Information, requesting their assistance on behalf of his daughter:

The enclosed Memorandum from the Hon. Secretary of the Women's Work Sub-Committee gives a short list of photographs which they desire to have taken, and which I think would come well under the head of propaganda. I should be very glad if you could arrange to have these photographs taken.⁹⁸⁵

Lima agreed to Conway's request, with the proviso that the Ministry of Information would retain full control of any work that was produced by their photographers. He wrote a memorandum to Frank Adams, manager of the Ministry of Information's Photographic Section:

You should arrange for Lewis to undertake the whole or part of this work, on condition that the negatives remain our property for our

⁹⁸³ Letter from Agnes Conway, Hon. Secretary, Women's Work Sub-Committee to Nicholls, 8 July, 1918, IWM File.

⁹⁸⁴ Letter from Agnes Ethel Conway to Ivor Nicholson, 20 June, 1918, IWM File.

⁹⁸⁵ Letter from Sir Martin Conway, Director General, the Imperial War Museum, to The Secretary, Ministry of Information. 25 July, 1918. IWM File.

use...Moreover we cannot give any undertaking as to the number of exposures or number of subjects to be covered.⁹⁸⁶

The 'Lewis' referred to in Lima's memorandum was George Pasham Lewis.⁹⁸⁷ G. P. Lewis, as he preferred to be known professionally, remains a somewhat shadowy figure. From a family of photographers – his father had a studio in Bath – in 1897, aged 22, Lewis travelled to Indonesian island of Java where he worked at the studio of the Armenian photographer, Onnes Kurkdjian. In 1903, following Kurkdjian's death, Lewis took over the studio.⁹⁸⁸ Following the outbreak of war, Lewis sold the studio and returned to Britain to 'obtain work of some national importance'. He was subsequently appointed by Ivor Nicholson at the Department of Information to 'carry through a comprehensive scheme of stereoscopic photography for use in the American schools'. This scheme, an idea of John Buchan's, was never implemented, so Lewis instead found himself working on 'the ordinary press photographic work of the Department'.⁹⁸⁹ It is unclear when exactly Lewis started working for the Department of Information but he was certainly in post before March 1918. It is probable that, like Nicholls, Lewis contacted Ivor Nicholson and offered his services as a photographer. Lewis may initially have offered to work on a voluntary basis but after some negotiation with Nicholson was appointed on a 'nominal' salary of £200 per annum.⁹⁹⁰

From August 1918, the photographic recording of women's war work progressed as two parallel strands. G P Lewis concentrated on heavy industry and factory-based work. His itinerary was planned by the Women's Work Sub-Committee through the Women's Factory Inspectorate and on each factory visit he was accompanied by a

⁹⁸⁶ Memorandum from Captain Lima to Frank Adams, Photographic Section, Ministry of Information, 29 July, 1918.

⁹⁸⁷ George Pasham Lewis (1875-1939) was a near contemporary of Nicholls. Lewis's early life had many similarities with Nicholls'. Both came from large families. Both their fathers were professional photographers and George Lewis, like Horace Nicholls, was born in a photographic studio. Like Nicholls, several of Lewis' siblings also became professional photographers. As a young man, Lewis also travelled across the world to take a job as an assistant in an established studio.

⁹⁸⁸ For Lewis' work in Java, see Susie Protschky, 'George Lewis and Mooi Indie art' in Gael Newton (ed), *Garden of the East : Photography in Indonesia 1850s-1940s*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2014.

⁹⁸⁹ Memorandum from G P Lewis to Bertram Lima, 25 March, 1918. IWM G P Lewis file.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid. Nicholls was paid £300 with a promise of an increase to £350.

local factory inspector who briefed him on what he should photograph.⁹⁹¹ Nicholls, in contrast, enjoyed much more autonomy over his work schedule and choice of subjects. Nicholls photographed mainly agricultural work and non-industrial occupations such as postwomen, porters and tram drivers.(Figure 5.53)⁹⁹² For his photographs of women performing manual labour, Nicholls drew on his pre-war experience of similar subjects, such as his photographs of Scottish fisher-girls.⁹⁹³ (Figure 5.54) For his photographs of women agricultural workers he created timeless, bucolic scenes of a pastoral idyll inhabited by attractive, smiling young women.⁹⁹⁴ It has been suggested that Nicholls ‘had a keen eye for a pretty girl’ and he certainly found it hard to resist the twin photographic temptations of an attractive young woman and a pastoral setting.⁹⁹⁵ In this, he was following his commercial instincts but he was also fulfilling the expectations of his superiors at the Ministry of Information. At their very first meeting, Bertram Lima had spoken to Nicholls about ‘the value of a bright face’.⁹⁹⁶ Often, the women photographed by Nicholls are dressed for work, their occupation suggested by their uniform or clothing, but they are not represented at work as such. His photograph of a woman fruit picker, with her basket and shepherd’s crook, has been described as ‘less that of a woman at work than of a latter day Marie Antoinette at the *Petit Trianon*’.⁹⁹⁷ (Figure 5.55)

It has been suggested that in order to facilitate taking photographs of women at work, Lewis and Nicholls were seconded to the Women’s Work Sub-Committee.⁹⁹⁸ However, I have been unable to find any evidence to support this. While Lewis

⁹⁹¹ The membership of the Women’s Work Sub-Committee at the Imperial War Museum included Frances Durham, Chief Woman Inspector of Employment at the Board of Trade and Adelaide Anderson, the Chief Lady Inspector of Factories at the Home Office. ‘The Chief Lady Inspector of Factories, Miss Anderson, is choosing these subjects for us...In each case the factory inspector for the district would accompany the photographer and arrange exactly what should be taken...’ Letter from Agnes Ethel Conway to Ivor Nicholson, 20 June, 1918, IWM File.

⁹⁹² There was, inevitably, some overlap. See, for example Lewis’ photograph of a woman railway signal operator IWM Q28148, with Nicholls’ photograph of the same subject IWM Q31020.

⁹⁹³ ‘They’re Bonnie Fish and Halesome Farin’, *The Bystander*, 29 November, 1911, p.453.

⁹⁹⁴ See, for example, ‘Autumn’s Ripening’, *The Bystander*, 2 September, 1908, p.503.

⁹⁹⁵ Diana Condell and Jean Liddiard, *Working for Victory?* p.143.

⁹⁹⁶ ‘The enclosed letter to the “Daily Mirror” is also somewhat apropos of your remarks as to the value of a bright face’. Letter from Nicholls to Bertram Lima, 25 March, 1918. Nicholls’ personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021.

⁹⁹⁷ Claire Bowen, *Recording women’s work*, p.5

⁹⁹⁸ Gareth Griffiths, *Women’s Factory Work in World War I*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991, p.4.

worked closely with the Sub-Committee, Nicholls, in contrast, seems to have had little or no contact with them.⁹⁹⁹

At the end of October 1918, Agnes Conway wrote to Nicholls, asking him to return the list of useful contacts that she had sent him three months earlier. Clearly, at this time she had not seen any of the photographs he had taken in the interim period:

Perhaps you would let me know if you have been able to photograph any of these cases during your tours, or whether you will be likely to be able to take any others in future.¹⁰⁰⁰

Nicholls returned the list on 6 November:

It has been of great help in indicating to me the various industries and many of them I have represented in my series though I have visited other places to obtain the photographs owing to the great distances at which some of the places in the list are situated. I hope to be able to take others in the future...¹⁰⁰¹

Nicholls, however, was not to have an opportunity to photograph any more women at war. Less than a week later, on 11 November, 1918, the war ended.¹⁰⁰² With the coming of peace there would be no need for a Ministry of Information, and no need for official photographers. For Nicholls, just as for so many others, the future was uncertain.

⁹⁹⁹ In early October, Nicholls photographed some of the exhibits at the Women's War Work Exhibition, held at the Whitechapel Gallery in London. IWM Q31113-Q31115.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Letter from Agnes Conway to Nicholls, 29 October, 1918. IWM File.

¹⁰⁰¹ Letter from Nicholls to Agnes Conway, 6 November, 1918, IWM File.

¹⁰⁰² On 11 November 1918, Nicholls was in Winchester. That day he photographed American soldiers attending an Armistice Service in Winchester Cathedral. IWM Q31190-Q31233.

Chapter Five - Illustrations



Figure 5.1. Nicholls wearing his U.A.V.R. uniform. Nicholls family album, 1915.



Figure 5.2. B.J.Edwards (seated on left) in Nicholls' garden at 9 Amherst Avenue. Nicholls family album, 1906.



Figure 5.3. 'K of K'. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 19 September, 1914.

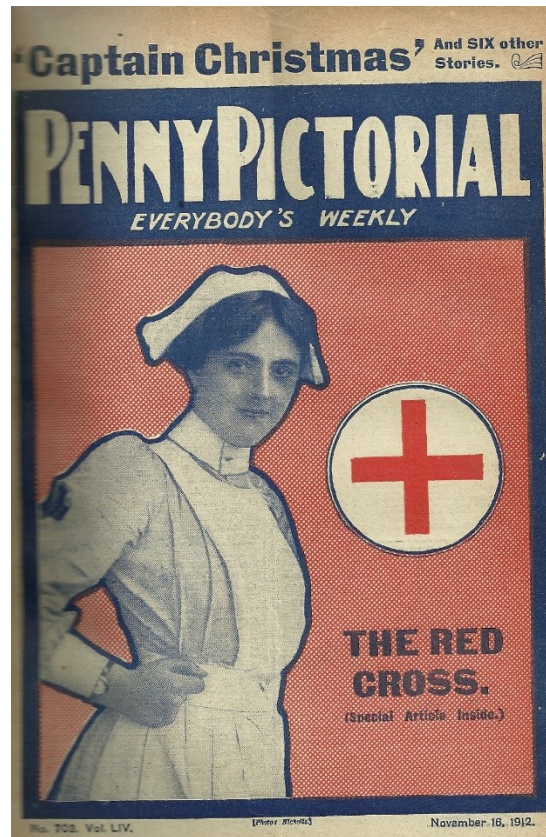


Figure 5.4. *Penny Pictorial*, 16 November, 1912.

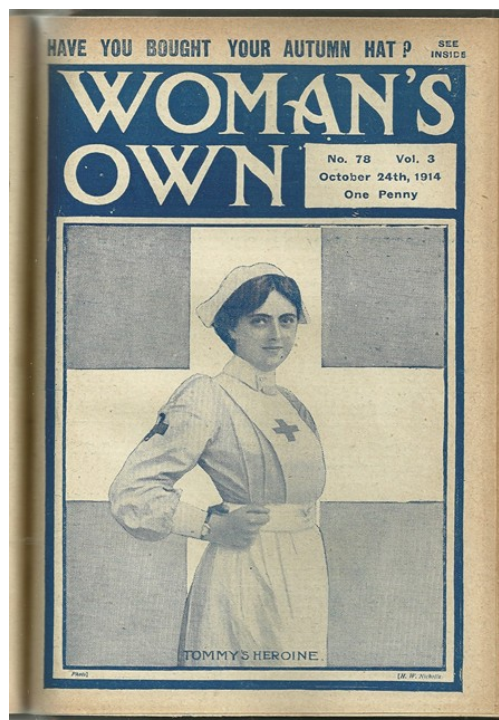


Figure 5.5. 'Tommy's Heroine', *Woman's Own*, 24 October, 1914.

WOMEN'S PART IN WARFARE.

By the Editor of the News.



A LITTLE FROM THE FRONT—THE ■ TRYING PLACE

Figure 5.6. 'Women's Part in Warfare', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 21 November, 1914.



Figure 5.7. Nicholls family album, 1914.



Figure 5.8. 'The H.A.C. for the Front – The Soldier Brother's Good-Bye'. *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 26 September, 1914.



Figure 5.9. 'The Twentieth Century Soldier', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 4 March, 1916.

IT IS THE SAME BOY AND THE SAME CAP.

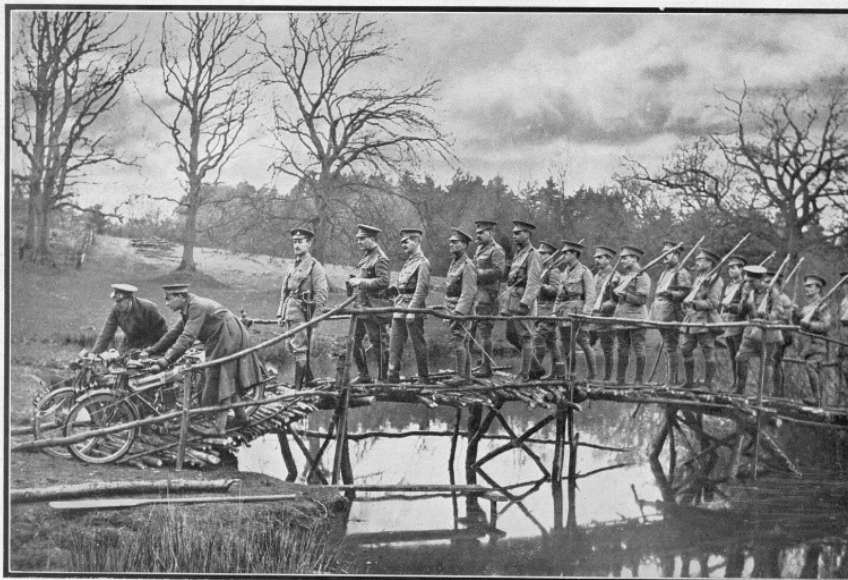


Tommy.

Fritz.

A clever little boy belonging to the Steyne Cadet Corps of Worthing frequently amuses his friends with his imitations. This change in his appearance is produced by just putting on a pair of spectacles and turning the cap back to front—(Horace W. Nicholls.)

Figure 5.10. 'It is the Same Boy and the Same Cap', *The Daily Mirror*, 15 August, 1916



THE UNITED ARTS RIFLES CROSSING A BRIDGE OF THEIR OWN CONSTRUCTION.

The United Arts Rifles (now recognised as the 1st Battalion Central London Regiment) is making steady progress under the command of Major Gordon Casserley, and has already supplied over 200 officers and men to the regular Forces. A keenness

in shooting, work at tactics, bridge building, trench making, etc., is calculated to make the Battalion, which trains on Mr. Hook's estate at Clant, near Farnham, of considerable service when necessity arises. Our photo. is by Horace W. Nicholls.

Figure 5.11. 'The United Arts Rifles Crossing a Bridge of their Own Construction', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 17 April, 1915.



Figure 5.12. Horace Nicholls working as a Substitution Officer in Hounslow. Nicholls family album, 1917.



Figure 5.13. Horace Nicholls, Portrait of Ivor Nicholson, 1917. IWM Q30121.

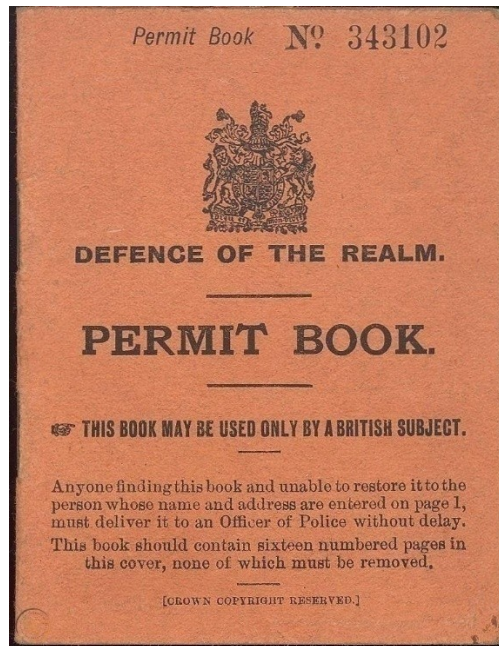


Figure 5.14. Defence of the Realm (DORA) Permit Book.



Figure 5.15. Horace Nicholls having his permit to photograph checked by a Sea Scout, 1918. IWM Q19964.

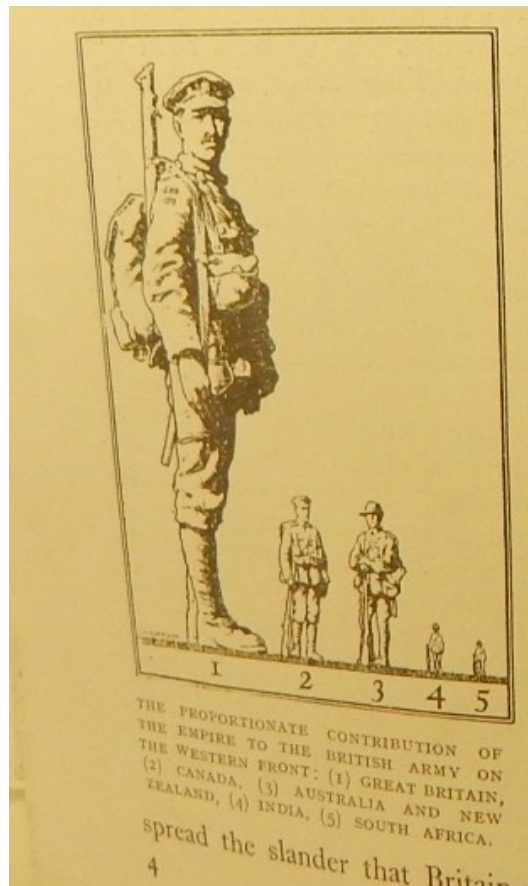


Figure 5.16. Elliott Dodds, 'After Four Years: The Transformation of the Motherland', *Supplement to United Empire*, August 1918, p.4.



Figure 5.17. Horace Nicholls, British soldier in a full kit, near Buckingham Palace, August 1917. IWM Q30008.



Figure 5.18. Horace Nicholls. Chilwell National Shell Filling Factory, 1917. IWM Q30011.



Figure 5.19. Muirhead Bone, 'The Hall of the Million Shells', *The Western Front, Part III*, London: Country Life, March, 1917. Plate XLVIII. IWM Art.IWM ART 2203.

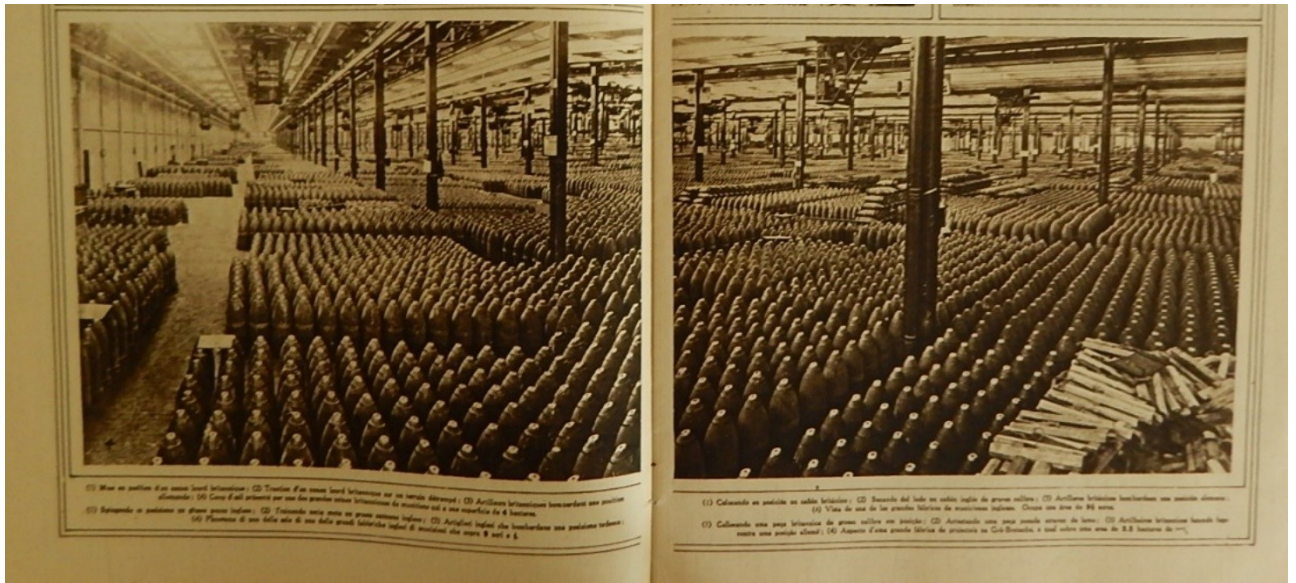


Figure 5.20. *War Pictorial*, March 1917.



Figure 5.21. Horace Nicholls. Chilwell National Shell Filling Factory, 1917. IWM Q30057 and Q30058.



Figure 5.22. Woman worker at Chillwell Shell Filling Factory, 1917. IWM Q30022.



Figure 5.23. Muirhead Bone, 'Night Work on the Breech of a Great Gun', *The Western Front - Drawings by Muirhead Bone*, Vol. I, Pt 65. Munitions Portfolio, Plate V. 1917. IWM Art.IWM REPRO 000593.



Figure 5.24. Horace Nicholls, Coventry Ordnance Works, 1917. IWM Q30143.



Figure 5.25. Horace Nicholls. Women workers at the National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell, 1917. IWM Q30015.



IWM Q30015 – Detail.

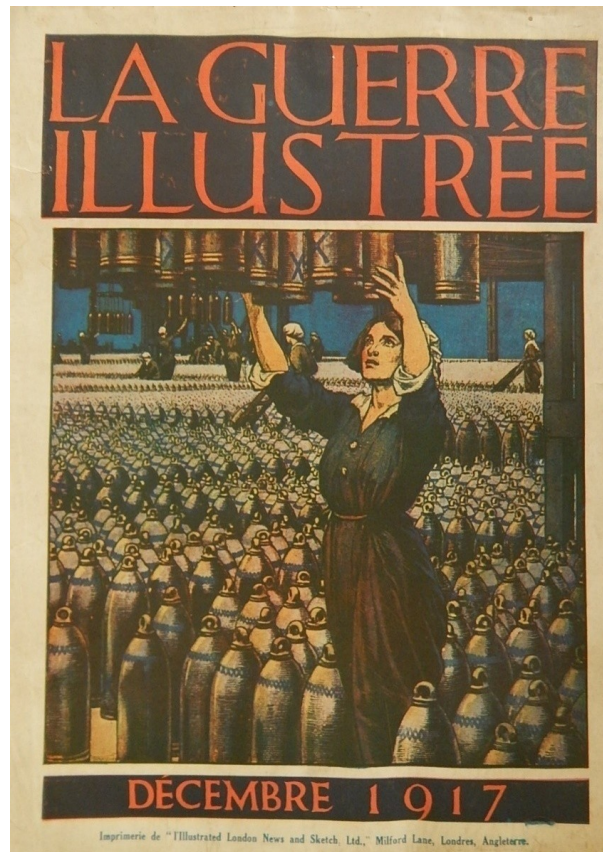


Figure 5.26. Cover of *La Guerre Illustree*, December, 1917.



Figure 5.27. Horace Nicholls. Women workers at the National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell, 1917. IWM Q30040.



Figure 5.28. Horace Nicholls. Workers at the National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell, 1917. The original caption reads: "Eighteen and eighty doing their bit". IWM Q 30029.



Figure 5.29. Propaganda postcard, '18 et 80'. (Author's collection)



Figure 5.30. British Section, *Deuxième Exposition Interalliée de Photographies de Guerre*, Jeu du Paume, Paris, 1917. Musée d'Histoire Contemporaine in Paris – Ref. VAL 360.



Figure 5.31. Horace Nicholls, The Chairman and Committee of the Imperial War Museum, 1917. IWM Q30157.

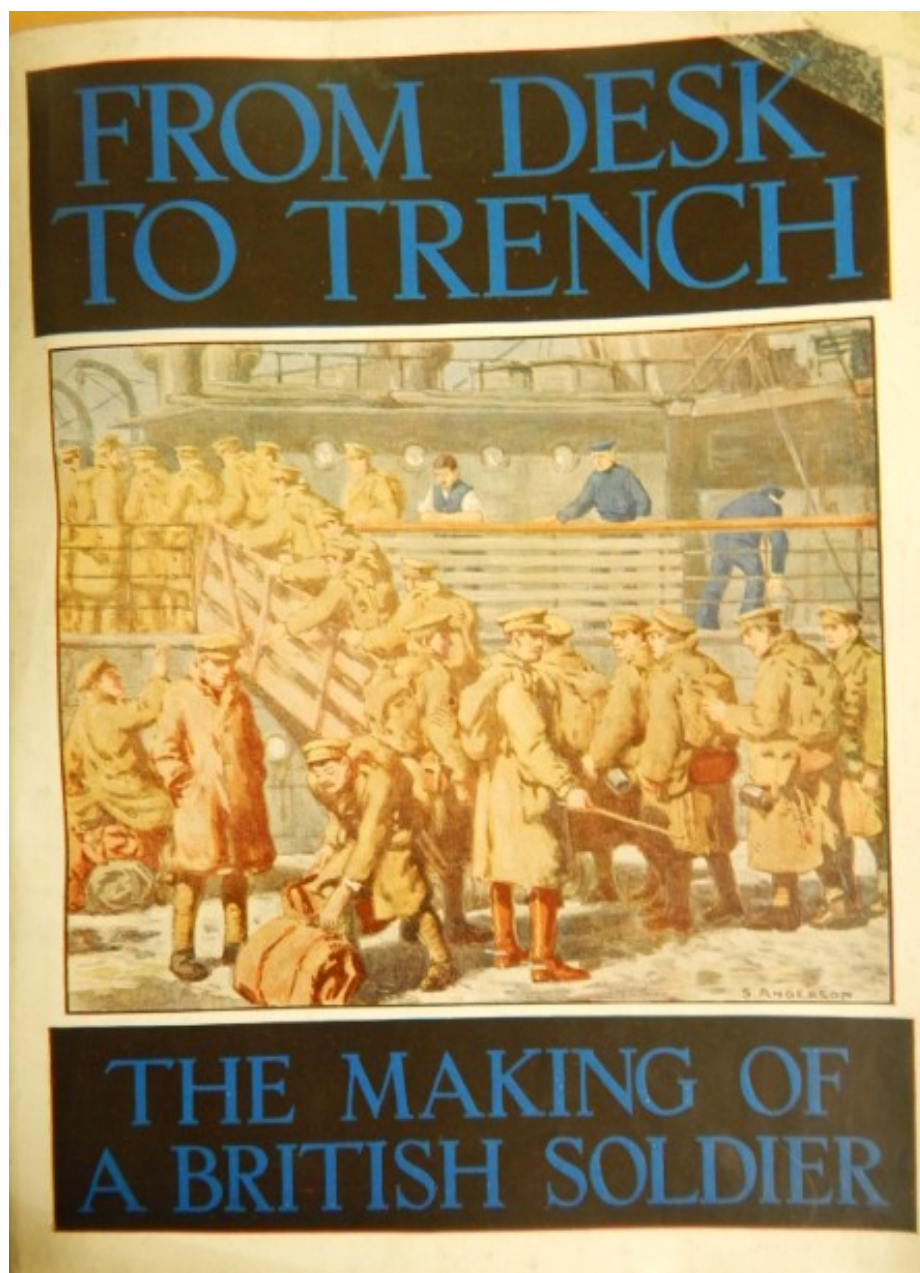


Figure 5.32. *From Desk to Trench: The Making of a British Soldier*, printed by J.E.C.Potter, Stamford, England, 1917. IWM LBY K. 12 / 1898.



Figure 5.33. Horace Nicholls. A recruit having an eye test on enlistment. Taken at Treaty Lodge, Hounslow, the HQ of the 8th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, in September 1917. IWM Q30067.



Figure 5.34. Horace Nicholls. 'Cooking a Patriotic Christmas Dinner', 1917. IWM Q30236.

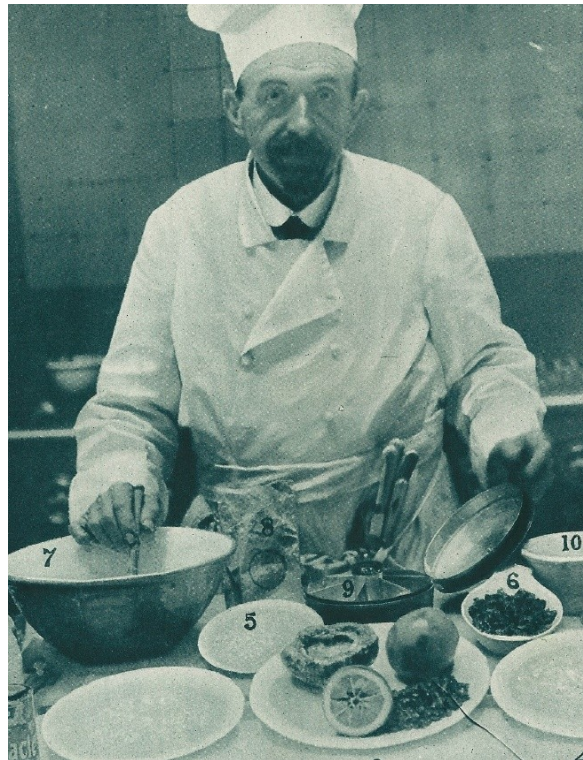


Figure 5.35. *War Pictorial*, January, 1918.



Figure 5.36. Horace Nicholls. Pupils at Steyne School, Worthing, 1918. Nicholls' youngest daughter, Peggy, is in the third row, sixth from the left. IWM Q31169.

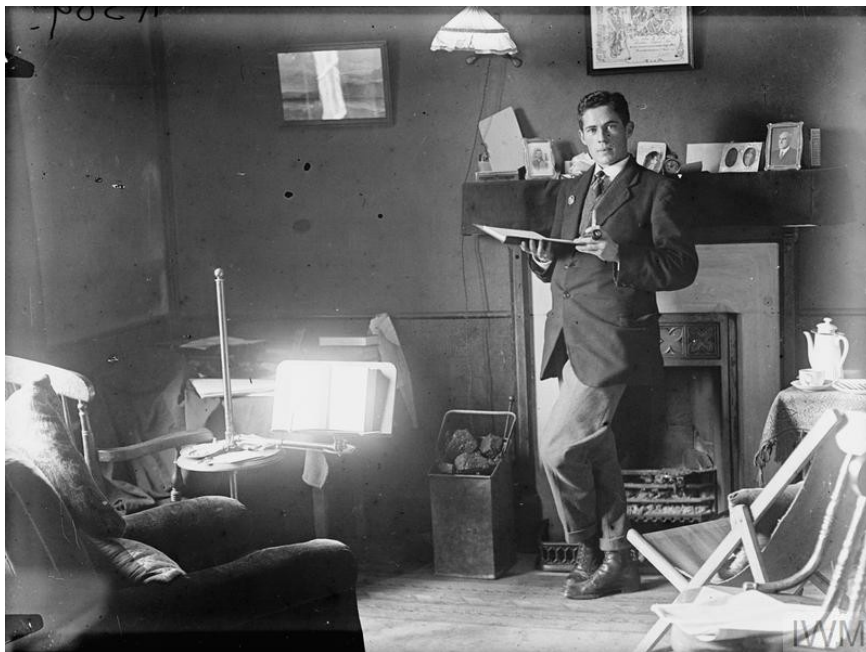


Figure 5.37. Horace Nicholls. A student at Keble College, Oxford University, 1917. The student is William Goch, a son of Nicholls' former employer in Johannesburg, James Goch. IWM Q30292.



Figure 5.38. Horace Nicholls. Workers, including German POWs, at a farm in Suffolk, 1918. The young girl on the left is Nicholls' youngest daughter, Peggy. She is standing next to Caleb Soundy, an old family friend of Nicholls who owned the farm - Valley Farm in Huntingfield. IWM Q31044.



Figure 5.39. George Nicholls returns home from leave. Nicholls family album, 1915



Figure 5.40. Horace Nicholls. A soldier returning home on leave, 1917. Part of a sequence of posed photographs, *Fourteen Days' Leave*. IWM Q30403.



Figure 5.41. Horace Nicholls. A farm girl wearing a sou'wester, 1918. IWM Q31005.



Figure 5.42. Horace Nicholls, 'Miss Gladys Cooper's Sou'wester', *Daily Mirror*, 27 October, 1913.



Figure 5.43. Horace Nicholls. A woman worker at Holme flour mill, 1918. IWM Q30934.



Figure 5.44. 'Good Morning!', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 1 September 1917.



Figure 5.45. Horace Nicholls. Three women War Office workers: (from left to right) an outdoor messenger, an indoor messenger and a supervisor, 1917. IWM Q30342.



Figure 5.46. Horace Nicholls. The women's work section of the Imperial War Exhibition at The Royal Academy, 1918. IWM Q30498.



Detail – Showing Women in Uniform series.

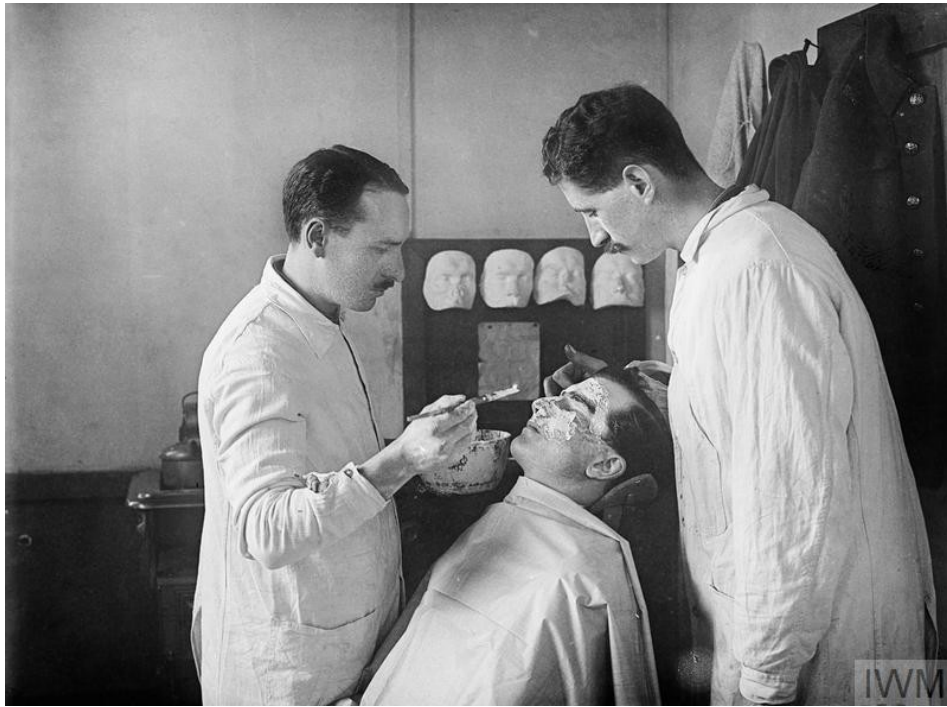


Figure 5.47. Horace Nicholls. Preparing a mould for a prosthetic face mask, 1918. IWM Q30452.



Figure 5.48. *The War Pictorial*, April 1918.



Figure 5.49. Bernard Alfieri. Women coke heavers, South Metropolitan Gas Company. 'Women War Workers of London', *The Illustrated War News*, 27 February 1918.



Figure 5.50. Horace Nicholls. A woman coke heaver at the South Metropolitan Gas Works, July 1918. IWM Q30864.



Figure 5.51. Francis Beeson, 'The New Zealander admiring his mask', *The World's Work*, February 1918.



Figure 5.52. Horace Nicholls. A patient examines a cast of his face, February 1918. IWM Q30455.



Figure 5.53. A woman tram driver, 1918. IWM Q31032.



Figure 5.54. Horace Nicholls. 'They're Bonnie Fish and Halesome Farin', reproduced in *The Bystander*, 29 November, 1911.



Figure 5.55. Horace Nicholls. A woman fruit picker, 1918. IWM Q30846.

CHAPTER SIX

The Guardian of 100,000 Memories

Even before the end of the war, discussions had begun as to the future of the photographs collected by the Ministry of Information. In April 1918, Sir Martin Conway reported on the Imperial War Museum's Photographic Section that:

Negotiations are in progress for the amalgamation of this Department of the Imperial War Museum with other Government Departments on the understanding that these will hand over the whole of their collections to the Imperial War Museum at the conclusion of the War.¹⁰⁰³

Shortly after the war ended, Conway argued that the Ministry's photographs had, in fact, belonged to the museum all along:

The Trophies Committee...was charged with the duty of providing the necessary photographs and pictures illustrative of the war for preservation in future in the War Museum. The Trophies Committee turned over to the Ministry of Information the whole business of photography and pictures. The Ministry of Information thereupon sent out photographers and painters...and all those painters and photographers were in fact working for the War Museum.

Their use for purposes of propaganda was purely temporary and propaganda having ceased their permanent destination must be the War Museum for which they were made and on whose behalf the Ministry of Information were operating.¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰³ *Report of the Imperial War Museum 1917-1918*, London: H.M.S.O. 1918, p.5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Memorandum by Martin Conway, 2 December, 1918. National Archives.

By mid-December 1918, while it had still not been officially confirmed, the imminent transfer of the Ministry of Information's photograph collection to the Imperial War Museum had been agreed and was common knowledge amongst the Ministry's staff.

Nicholls had quickly to consider his future. On 14 December 1918, Nicholls received a request from Charles ffoulkes, the museum's Secretary and Curator, to take his portrait in his office at the Office of Works. The timing of this request seems suspiciously opportune; it had probably been arranged deliberately by ffoulkes to give him the opportunity of talking to Nicholls about working for the museum. If this was ffoulkes' intention, it certainly matched Nicholls' thoughts at this time. In his letter to ffoulkes confirming the time of his visit, Nicholls added:

I should at the same time like to have a chat with you in reference to the changes that are taking place.¹⁰⁰⁵

Cryptically, Nicholls revealed that at the time, he was also considering other possible offers of employment:

I have to give my decision in reference to another matter during next week but should like to speak to you before doing so.¹⁰⁰⁶

Nicholls took ffoulkes' portrait on the morning of 16 December.¹⁰⁰⁷ (Figure 6.1) The sitting also served as an informal job interview. When he returned home that evening Nicholls wrote to ffoulkes:

In reference to my interview with you this morning and your kind suggestion as to my taking up a permanent position with the Imperial War Museum, my associations with you during the war as well as with Miss Conway have always been of such a pleasant nature that I

¹⁰⁰⁵ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 14 December, 1918. IWM File.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁷ IWM Q31267-Q31270. Nicholls sent proof prints of these photographs to ffoulkes on 18 December. Nicholls was not happy with them - 'I was not able to get quite the lighting I should have liked in your room, but they may interest you'. Nicholls also photographed Sir Martin Conway - 'In Sir Martin Conway's room the lighting was particularly disappointing...and as the resulting plates seemed very unsatisfactory I did not complete them'. It is unclear whether Conway also took part in Nicholls' interview. Letter from Nicholls to ffoulkes, 18 December, 1918. IWM File.

shall be pleased to do this, if we can come to a satisfactory arrangement.¹⁰⁰⁸

For Nicholls, the prime criterion for 'a satisfactory arrangement' was the question of salary. Somewhat disingenuously, he wrote:

...my present position...was not based on any consideration of emolument but now that the war is over I have to look at it differently.¹⁰⁰⁹

Nicholls proposed that an annual salary of £500 would be commensurate with his knowledge and experience:

Beyond an expert technical knowledge of photography, I have old experience of departmental management and I believe there are many ways in which I might prove of service to you in your Museum Work.¹⁰¹⁰

A salary of £500 would be a 66% increase on what he had been paid at the Ministry of Information. To strengthen his bargaining position, Nicholls reminded ffoulkes that his was not the only offer of employment on the table:

I shall be glad if you will let me know how soon I may expect to hear definitely from you, because as I mentioned in my letter of Saturday's date, I have another matter waiting my decision about which I must give an answer this week.¹⁰¹¹

Four days later, on 20 December 1918, ffoulkes wrote to Frank Adams, in charge of the Ministry of Information Photographic Bureau:

¹⁰⁰⁸ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 16 December, 1918. IWM File. Nicholls consideration of the position as 'permanent' was to be a source of future dispute.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid. When he took up his post with the Department of Information in July 1917, Nicholls was paid £300 per annum, with a promise that this would be increased to £350 after a few months. This amount was regarded by some in the Department as excessive. In March 1918, Nicholls complained that 'the latter amount has still not materialised'. Memorandum from Nicholls to Bertram Lima, 25 March, 1918. Nicholls' personnel file in IWM – HR/01/1930/021. In contrast, his fellow Home Front photographer, George Lewis, had been prepared to work for nothing but was persuaded by Ivor Nicholson to take a salary of £200 per annum.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid. By 'old experience of departmental management', Nicholls was probably referring to his role as manager of the Goch Studio in Johannesburg twenty years earlier.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid.

I have now been informed that [Treasury] have approved the transfer of the Photographic and Art Sections of the Ministry of Information to this department as from the 1st prox. The War Museum is to take over the whole of the pictures, photographs, etc. collected by the Ministry...¹⁰¹²

The following day, 21 December, ffoulkes wrote to Nicholls, formally offering him the position of museum photographer at an initial salary of £400 p.a. to be reviewed after 15 months. Nicholls accepted the offer, but made it clear that:

...at the same time, I note that after March 31st next further arrangements will be made, which I take it refer to the difference in the amount of salary proposed by me and offered by you.¹⁰¹³

The Ministry of Information Photographic Section was transferred to the Imperial War Museum with effect from 1 January 1919. Its staff and equipment remained at the Ministry's Photographic Bureau premises in Coventry Street which now became the home of the Museum's Photographic Section and its outlet for the sale of official photographs.¹⁰¹⁴ On 31 December, their last day with the Ministry, the members of the Photographic Section, including Nicholls, assembled on the roof of the building for a group photograph.¹⁰¹⁵ (Figure 6.2) The following day, Nicholls began his museum career.

Much of Nicholls' work involved taking record photographs of museum objects. While he was still with the Ministry of Information he had been asked by ffoulkes on several occasions to take photographs of items from the museum's collection.¹⁰¹⁶ Following his appointment, these requests now formed a major part of Nicholls' duties. During his first week, for example, at ffoulkes' request Nicholls photographed a large number of ships' badges.¹⁰¹⁷ (Figure 6.3) This work did not relate directly to the Imperial War Museum but to another of ffoulkes' responsibilities. In 1918, ffoulkes,

¹⁰¹² Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Frank Adams, 20 December, 1918. National Archives.

¹⁰¹³ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 24 December, 1918. IWM File.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Report of the Imperial War Museum 1918-1919*, London: H.M.S.O. 1919, pp.12-13.

¹⁰¹⁵ RPS 2003-5001_0002_26632_0031 and IWM Q31283 (wrongly captioned as 'Staff of the Aerial Observation unit at County Hall, Spring Gardens').

¹⁰¹⁶ This work is discussed in Chapter Five. See, for example, IWM Q30158-Q30202.

¹⁰¹⁷ IWM Q20179-Q20217.

as Master of the Tower Armouries, had been asked by the commanding officer of HMS Tower to design a badge for his ship. ffoulkes soon received requests to create badges for other Royal Navy vessels, and on 10 December 1918, he was appointed Admiralty Adviser on Heraldry and Design on the Ships' Badge Committee that had been formed by the Admiralty to regulate the creation and use of ships' badges.¹⁰¹⁸

At this time, ffoulkes seems to have regarded Nicholls almost as his personal photographer, available for any work that he required. On 7 January 1919, for example, he wrote to Nicholls:

Can you come down to Westminster Bridge Pier with your camera at 10 o'clock on Friday morning as we are making some experiment on the river for which I should like to have photographs...¹⁰¹⁹

This request also related to ffoulkes' work for the Ships' Badges Committee:

I...obtained the loan of a police launch and arrangements were made for it to ply between Westminster and Lambeth Bridges. Several shapes in gilded cardboard had been made and the crew of the launch were instructed to go up and down the river holding the samples of "Mock ups" ...over the bows...in order that we might see how boats' badges would look.¹⁰²⁰

Unofficially, ffoulkes also used Nicholls take photographs at the Tower of London:¹⁰²¹
(Figure 6.4)

Nichols (sic) was a past master of the photograph and did much valuable work for me at the Tower which was highly irregular as he

¹⁰¹⁸ For ffoulkes' account of his work for the Ships' Badges Committee, see Charles ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, London: John Murray, 1939, pp. 157-173. See also Peter C. Smith, *Royal Navy Ships' Badges*, Huntington: Balfour Publications, 1974. There are many examples of photographs of ships' badges, taken by Nicholls, in the IWM Collection – see, for example, Q20413-Q20445. In his Curator's Report for 1918-1919 ffoulkes wrote: 'A large collection of Boat Badges has been obtained which will be of special interest in view of the fact that the new official badges which are issued by the Admiralty will make many of the existing designs obsolete and therefore of historical value'. *Report of the Imperial War Museum, 1918-1919*, London: HMSO, 1919, p. 4.

¹⁰¹⁹ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 7 January 1919, IWM File.

¹⁰²⁰ ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, pp. 160-161.

¹⁰²¹ See, for example, IWM Q31309 and Q31361-Q31364.

was paid by the War Museum and not by the Tower, but we did not trouble to cut financial red tape, we simply did not use it.¹⁰²²

At the time of his appointment Nicholls did not reveal any further details regarding the other job offer that was awaiting his decision. On 31 March 1920, however, the intimated pay rise not having been discussed in the interim, Nicholls reminded ffoulkes about their agreement:

Almost immediately after I accepted this [job offer] I was approached by the late Sir Bertram Lima who wanted me to join him and made me a very tempting offer to do so, which would have paid me very much better than the salary I had asked of you. I told him however that I would rather not entertain his suggestion in any case before the end of March owing to my previous arrangement with you so he asked me to see him again after that date should my arrangements with you then not prove satisfactory, but in the interim as you know he died.¹⁰²³

After the war ended, Bertram Lima had renewed his newspaper career as Chairman of the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Pictorial*. I have found no evidence to support or disprove Nicholls' claim that Lima had offered him a lucrative job. Nicholls had worked closely with Lima at the Ministry of Information and had previously supplied photographs to both of his newspapers so it is quite feasible. It is unclear, however, why Nicholls told ffoulkes initially that he needed to respond to an offer that he had received *before* his interview at the Imperial War Museum, but now claimed that he had received the job offer from Lima immediately *after* he had accepted the post at the museum.¹⁰²⁴

Responding to Nicholls' supplication, ffoulkes contacted the Treasury requesting permission to raise Nicholls' salary to the promised £500 p.a.:

¹⁰²²ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, p. 117.

¹⁰²³Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 31 March, 1920, IWM File. Bertram Lima had received a knighthood in June 1918. He died from influenza on 24 February 1919, aged just 34. For an obituary of Lima, see *The Leeds Mercury*, 25 February, 1919, p. 7.

¹⁰²⁴This confusion may just confirm that this had been a clumsy attempt on Nicholls' part to manipulate ffoulkes into making a favourable salary offer.

Apart from the excellency (sic) of the work done by this officer which is of very high merit, his personality is so strongly in his favour that it is felt the loss of his services would be a disaster at a time when heavy responsibility will be incurred through the re-opening of the Sales Department in June next on an entirely new basis, arrangements having been made for prints for sale from that date to be produced by the Photographic Staff of the Department instead of by outside firms as formerly.¹⁰²⁵

The Treasury sanctioned ffoulkes' request and Nicholls received his pay rise. However, the correspondence relating to this matter reveals a serious flaw in the arrangements discussed between ffoulkes and Nicholls. Since the Treasury controlled all funding matters relating to the museum, ffoulkes had made promises to Nicholls that he was unable personally to guarantee. This was an issue that was to resurface regularly throughout Nicholls' time at the museum, becoming an ongoing source of frustration, irritation and, ultimately, conflict.

Given his dissatisfaction with his salary, why did Nicholls choose to remain at the museum? A letter that he wrote to Charles ffoulkes in 1932, soon after he had retired, gives an insight into his thinking. In it, Nicholls suggests that he remained at the museum primarily because the position offered him stability and security:

I asked you (as an expert) for a salary of £500 per annum, and though I knew I could command more elsewhere, the mention at our original interview of Permanency if the War Museum continued weighed very much with me because it meant to me one of two things, either establishment as time went on (and which I hoped for) or a continuance in my employment as long as I was able to do my work; I pinned my faith to this...¹⁰²⁶

Nicholls was nearly 52 when he started working for the Imperial War Museum – by no means elderly, but certainly not young. By this time, freelance press photography was becoming an increasingly uncertain and competitive occupation; Magazines and

¹⁰²⁵ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to The Secretary, H.M. Treasury, 9 April, 1920. IWM File.

¹⁰²⁶ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 4 May, 1932. IWM File.

newspapers now relied increasingly on large photographic agencies to supply the images they needed or employed their own staff photographers. Nicholls may have had some concerns about re-entering this competitive environment. Crucially, Nicholls did not regard taking a job at the museum as necessarily marking the end of his freelance photographic career. Rather, it was his intention from the outset that he would continue to actively pursue his own commercial interests. For Nicholls, the museum would be a form of safety net, providing a secure and steady income in addition to his freelance work.

When the war ended, the Imperial War Museum, while it had a growing collection, was in some respects a concept rather than a physical reality. The museum needed a home. The only building available at the time that was big enough to show a significant part of the museum's collections was the Crystal Palace in Sydenham, which was then being used by the War Office. In April 1919, the museum received an offer from the Crystal Palace Trustees to rent a large portion of the building for four years. Despite its unsuitability in many respects, the museum accepted this offer and began to move into the building in early 1920.¹⁰²⁷ The Crystal Palace soon proved to be an unsuitable location for both people and objects. The staff of the Photographic Section suffered 'severely from cold in winter and excessive heat in summer'.¹⁰²⁸

The Photographic Bureau in Coventry Street, where Nicholls was based, closed in January 1920 and the museum's Photographic Section was transferred to what would become the Imperial War Museum's temporary home in the Crystal Palace. New facilities were set up in the south-east galleries there to enable the museum to undertake its own photographic printing for the first time. Nicholls' role, as well as taking photographs, now also included the supervision of the printing staff and responsibility for the purchase and stock control of photographic materials.

¹⁰²⁷For the background to the museum's move to the Crystal Palace, see Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War*, pp. 146-151 and the *Third Annual Report of the Imperial War Museum, 1919-1920*, London: HMSO, 1920, pp. 2-4.

¹⁰²⁸Report of the Imperial War Museum 1920-1921, London: HMSO, 1920, p.4.

The museum began to move exhibits to the Crystal Palace in the spring of 1920 and Nicholls photographed their transport and installation.¹⁰²⁹ (Figure 6.5) His photographs were intended not just as a documentary record of the museum's activities but also as publicity prior to the museum opening to the public in June that year. As marketing images they were designed to convey the spectacular scale of the museum's objects and their new home. Intended for reproduction in the popular press, they might even be considered as museum 'propaganda'. Nicholls' photograph of a 9.2inch howitzer being installed in the main nave was reproduced as a full-page illustration in *The Graphic* on 15 May.¹⁰³⁰ (Figure 6.6) Similarly, his photograph of the museum's central exhibit, a wooden facsimile of an 18 inch naval gun, was reproduced full-page in the same magazine three weeks later, shortly before the museum was officially opened.¹⁰³¹ Nicholls' images of these huge guns in the setting of the vast central nave of Crystal Palace echo his photographs taken at Coventry Ordnance Works nearly three years earlier. In his photograph of the naval gun, a technician seen painting an 18inch shell evokes echoes of his wartime images of workers performing the same task at Chilwell.¹⁰³² (Figure 6.7) Neither of these photographs is credited. Another photograph taken by Nicholls, however, showing men of the Royal Army Ordnance Corps manhandling a field gun into position for display, reproduced at the same time in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, was credited, 'Imperial War Museum official photograph. Crown copyright reserved'.¹⁰³³

The museum was officially opened to the public by King George V on 9 June 1920. In the context of the museum's centenary, a study regarding the establishment of the Imperial War Museum and its role in the memorialisation of the First World War has been written by Jennifer Wellington¹⁰³⁴ Surprisingly, since he was their official photographer, Nicholls probably did not photograph the opening of the museum. The

¹⁰²⁹ IWM Q20521-Q20549 and Q31341-Q31398.

¹⁰³⁰ 'Preparing for the Crystal Palace Victory Show', *The Graphic*, 15 May, 1920, p. 765. (IWM Q31398).

¹⁰³¹ 'A Gun to Face the King at the Crystal Palace', *The Graphic*, 5 June, 1920, p. 901. (IWM Q20541).

¹⁰³² Compare, for example, IWM Q20541 with IWM Q30155

¹⁰³³ 'All things are not what they seem', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 15 May, 1920, p. 388. (IWM Q31389).

¹⁰³⁴ Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums and Memory in Britain, Canada and Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

only published photograph of the event which I have been able to find, which appeared in *The Bystander*, is credited to the Sport and General photo agency.¹⁰³⁵

Three days after the official opening, however, *The Graphic* published a double-page collage of Nicholls' photographs of museum exhibits, including several taken while he was at the Ministry of Information, under the caption 'Attractions of the Imperial War Museum Exhibition at the Crystal Palace'.¹⁰³⁶ (Figure 6.8)

Despite Sir Martin Conway's best efforts, the Government decided not to make the Imperial War Museum Britain's national war memorial.¹⁰³⁷ The idea of having the museum occupy a central or symbolic location was rejected due to the cost of erecting a bespoke building. Instead, the museum found itself temporarily exiled to Sydenham.¹⁰³⁸ Rather than the Imperial War Museum, it was the Cenotaph in Whitehall, designed by Edwin Lutyens, which became the nation's primary symbolic site of remembrance.¹⁰³⁹ Constructed initially as a temporary structure, made of wood and plaster, for the Victory Parade in London on 19 July, 1919, the Cenotaph captured the public imagination.¹⁰⁴⁰ Later that month, the government decided that it should be re-erected in stone as a permanent memorial on the same site.¹⁰⁴¹ The permanent Cenotaph was unveiled on Armistice Day, 11 November, 1920. On the

¹⁰³⁵ 'The King at the Crystal Palace', *The Bystander*, 16 June, 1920, p. 901. A print of this is now part of the Central News Collection at IWM – Q44819. There is another, uncredited, photograph taken from a different viewpoint, in the IWM Collection which may possibly have been taken by Nicholls – IWM Q44828.

¹⁰³⁶ 'Attractions of the Imperial War Museum Exhibition at the Crystal Palace', *The Graphic*, 12 June, 1920, pp. 948-949. Photographs reproduced include IWM Q30158, Q30161, Q31293, Q20211, Q31399, Q19949, Q30166, Q30233, Q20542, Q30164, Q20196, Q20441, Q30168, Q30159, Q31349, and Q31115.

¹⁰³⁷ For Conway's arguments for this, see Gaynor Kavanagh, 'Museum as Memorial: The Origins of the Imperial War Museum', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January 1988, pp. 77-97. See also, Nicholas J. Saunders and Paul Cornish (eds), *Contested Objects: Material Memories of the Great War*, London: Routledge, 2013.

¹⁰³⁸ In December 1917 the report of a Ministerial Committee under Lord Crawford appointed to examine the museum's proposals had suggested that the museum should be built on a site on the south bank of the Thames, opposite the Houses of Parliament. Drastic cuts in public spending in the immediate post-war period meant that this proposal was not pursued. See Kavanagh, *Museum as Memorial*, p. 88-91.

¹⁰³⁹ For the history of the Cenotaph, see Allan Greenberg, 'Lutyen's Cenotaph', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.48, No. 1, March., 1989, pp. 5-23. See also, Jennifer Wellington, *Exhibiting War: The Great War, Museums and Memory in Britain, Canada and Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 281-28 and Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 102-105.

¹⁰⁴⁰ It also captured Nicholls' imagination. In the Nicholls family album for 1919, above a photograph of the grave of his son, George, Nicholls pasted a photographic copy of a postcard view of the temporary cenotaph.

¹⁰⁴¹ When the temporary Cenotaph was dismantled, the top part of it was given to the Imperial War Museum. It was displayed at the Crystal Palace, installed in its own Cenotaph Court, where it was photographed by Nicholls – IWM Q31519-Q31521.

same day, the body of an Unknown Warrior, exhumed in France, was buried with great ceremony in Westminster Abbey.¹⁰⁴²

On 7 November 1920, Nicholls photographed the specially-made coffin as it lay in Westminster Abbey, before it was sent to France to receive the body of the Unknown Warrior.¹⁰⁴³ (Figure 6.9) It has been suggested that Nicholls enjoyed special, or even exclusive, access to Westminster Abbey in order to take these photographs.¹⁰⁴⁴ This was not the case. At least one other photographer was allowed into the Abbey that day. An operator from Walsham's Ltd, a firm of commercial photographers based in London's Doughty Street, took a series of photographs that are strikingly similar to Nicholls'.¹⁰⁴⁵ (Figure 6.10) While Nicholls' photographs were not published at the time, Walsham's were reproduced widely in the national and provincial press.¹⁰⁴⁶

Four days later, on behalf of the museum, Nicholls photographed the ceremony in Whitehall for the unveiling of the Cenotaph and the scene as the gun carriage bearing the Unknown Warrior passed the Cenotaph on its way to Westminster Abbey.¹⁰⁴⁷ This event was covered by many staff and agency press photographers. The following week, however, one of Nicholls' photographs was used by *The Graphic* as its cover illustration, where it was credited as 'Exclusive to "The Graphic" from a Photograph in the Possession of The Imperial War Museum'.¹⁰⁴⁸ (Figure 6.11)

¹⁰⁴² See Michael Gavaghan, *The Story of the Unknown Warrior*, Oxford, Alden Press, 1997 and Laura Wittman, *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Modern Mourning, and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011. This was not just a British symbolic gesture. Unknown soldiers were interred in many countries, see Ken Inglis, 'Entombing unknown soldiers: from London and Paris to Baghdad', *History and Memory*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1993, pp. 7-31.

¹⁰⁴³ IWM Q31492 and Q31514-Q31518. Contrary to what is often assumed, in these photographs the coffin is empty. The body of the Unknown Warrior did not lay in state in Westminster Abbey but was buried immediately after the unveiling of the Cenotaph. See, for example, Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, p. 142.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See, for example, <https://www.timeout.com/london/blog/hilary-roberts-from-the-imperial-war-museum-chooses-her-ten-favourite-shots-of-london-032416> (accessed 02/09/2019).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Walsham's Ltd, founded by Alfred Ernest Walsham, specialised in architectural photography. During the First World War they were commissioned by the Home Office to record the effects of German bombing – see Carmichael, *First World War Photographers*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See, for example, 'The Burial of the Unknown Hero', *The Sphere*, 13 November, 1920, p. 147. 'The Grave of an Unknown Warrior', *The Graphic*, 13 November, 1920, p. 703. 'The Unknown British Hero's Coffin in Westminster Abbey', *The Lancashire Daily Post*, 10 November, 1920, p. 2. 'The Unknown British Warrior's Coffin', *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 10 November, 1920, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴⁷ IWM Q31488-Q31502.

¹⁰⁴⁸ IWM Q31491. 'The Cenotaph Unveiled', *The Graphic* 20 November, 1920, p. 745.

Nicholls' photographs assume an added poignancy when one considers his personal sense of loss. As he took these photographs Nicholls must have been thinking about his son, George, who had been killed in action in 1917. The Cenotaph was a national memorial but it was also a focus for remembering individual sacrifices, just as were the many thousands of local war memorials which were erected. Soon after the war ended, the museum began to collect photographs of these memorials, which ffoulkes regarded as 'an essential part of the pictorial records of the war deposited in the museum'.¹⁰⁴⁹ In 1922, in a letter to *The Times*, ffoulkes wrote:

...a record of these memorials is at present in course of preparation by the Imperial War Museum, and we have to date received photographs of 366 monuments.¹⁰⁵⁰

Nicholls contributed to this project in his official capacity, taking photographs of several memorials in central and west London. As with much of his wartime work, however, Nicholls' choice of location and subject was often shaped by personal factors. Away from central London, Nicholls photographed war memorials in places with which he had a strong personal connection, such as Biggleswade, Windsor, and The Isle of Wight, taking photographs while on holiday or when visiting family and friends.¹⁰⁵¹ (Figure 6.12) Abroad, in 1929, he photographed memorials on Corsica and in Nice and Villefranche when he was on holiday.¹⁰⁵² Much closer to home, Nicholls photographed Ealing War Memorial, less than a mile from where he lived in Amherst Avenue.¹⁰⁵³ He also photographed the memorial at his local church, St Stephen's, a few minutes' walk from his home. There, engraved among the names of the fallen, was that of his son, George.¹⁰⁵⁴ (Figure 6.13)

In a memorandum on the future organisation of the museum's photographic staff, written in 1930, it was noted of Nicholls that:

¹⁰⁴⁹ Charles ffoulkes, 'Sculptors and War Memorials', letter to *The Times*, 23 October, 1922, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵¹ Examples include Biggleswade (Q42426), Penalt (Q48443) Windsor (Q48467), Eton (Q48465) and The Isle of Wight (Q37970, Q44409).

¹⁰⁵² IWM Q49733-Q49736.

¹⁰⁵³ IWM Q36999-Q37700 and Q37703-Q37705.

¹⁰⁵⁴ IWM Q37001. George Nicholls' name is at the bottom of the column to the right of the font.

His service with the Museum has placed him to some extent out of touch with the commercial world.¹⁰⁵⁵

This, however, was true only to a limited extent. While Nicholls no longer relied solely on 'the commercial world' for his income, he had by no means given up his activities as a freelance journalistic photographer. In March 1920, after he had been in post for just over a year, Nicholls wrote to ffoulkes to remind him of the pay rise that he had been promised. He used the opportunity to also mention the change in his personal circumstances caused by the museum's move to the Crystal Palace:

I did not so much mind when we were in Coventry Street, because I was able to turn my spare time to account in other directions but these are now considerably curtailed owing to the distance from town...¹⁰⁵⁶

In spring 1919 the Nicholls family had left Hayes and returned to their home in Ealing. From there, Nicholls' daily journey on the underground to Coventry Street was quick and simple. Coventry Street was also a convenient central location for Nicholls to visit newspaper and magazine offices in Fleet Street. The Museum's closure of the Photographic Section's offices in Coventry Street and the subsequent move to Sydenham would have caused Nicholls a great deal of inconvenience, additional expense and commuting time.

From the time of his appointment, it had been Nicholls' intention to combine his museum work with his personal freelance work. Working full-time, however, Nicholls' opportunities for commercial photography were now confined to holidays and weekends. Consequently, his annual leave from the museum became very important.¹⁰⁵⁷ In November 1920, Nicholls wrote to ffoulkes:

¹⁰⁵⁵ Memorandum written by Miss A. M. Hall, Finance Officer at IWM, undated but probably November 1930. IWM File. ffoulkes described Miss Hall as 'one of the most competent and long-suffering financial ladies in the Civil Service' – ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 31 March, 1920, IWM File.

¹⁰⁵⁷ It is not clear exactly how much annual leave Nicholls was entitled to. Civil Service annual leave allowances in the 1920s were regarded as very generous, ranging from three weeks for junior grades to up to six weeks for the most senior grades. See E N Gladden, *Civil Services of the United Kingdom, 1855-1970*, London: Frank Cass & Co, 1967, p. 55.

I am rather exercised about the matter of my leave. I have only had four days of my leave due for this year...I had, therefore, resolved in my mind to try and get away during the early part of January, as I did last winter. I had not anticipated any difficulty about this, and have made some of my arrangements, but received a rather rude shock the other day when Miss Hall informed me over the 'phone that all leave due must be taken before the end of the year.

Is it not possible, please, in all the circumstances that I may take the balance of my leave early in January? ¹⁰⁵⁸

On this occasion, ffoulkes agreed, but stressed that in future, as per Treasury rules, all leave had to be used up each year. Nicholls was quickly finding out that he could no longer rely on having the flexible working arrangements that he had enjoyed when he was working for the Ministry of Information.

In January 1921, as planned, Nicholls went on holiday with his family. He travelled to the French Riviera and then on to Chamonix for winter sports. Following his return to Britain, Nicholls sold photographs he had taken on the trip to *The Graphic* and *The Sphere*.¹⁰⁵⁹ (Figure 6.14) This was a continuation of the work strategy he had followed very successfully as a freelance photographer before the war – travelling to obtain photographs suitable for publication and then using the proceeds of their sale to offset the cost of travel, while at the same time combining the trip with a family holiday. The following year, Nicholls again holidayed in Chamonix and, two years later, the family travelled to southern France. On each occasion, Nicholls' photographs taken during these holidays were subsequently published in several magazines.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁵⁸ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 13 November, 1920. IWM File. Miss Hall was the museum Finance Officer.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 'The Silent Sentinel of the Cote D'Azur', *The Graphic*, 19 February, 1921, p. 227. 'The Shadow of the Cross: A Roadside Calvary for the Traveller in the Haute Savoie, Close to Argenterre', *The Graphic*, 26 March, 1921, p.374. 'A Golden January on the Riviera', *The Sphere*, 5 February, 1921, p. 137.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See, for example, 'The Skiers. – Sunshine and Snow in the Chamonix Valley', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 11 February, 1922, p. 759. 'The Snow Slip', *The Bystander*, 8 February, 1922, p. 299. 'The End of the Snow Season', *The Graphic*, 11 February, 1922, p. 155. 'Where the Mistral Blows', *The Bystander*, 11 June, 1924, p. 800.

Nearer to home, Nicholls also photographed holidays and family outings in Britain. Many of these photographs were published subsequently in magazines. In 1921, for example, a photograph of his youngest daughter, Peggy, taken while on holiday on a farm in Suffolk, was reproduced in *The Graphic*, captioned *A Summer Holiday in the Harvest Field*.¹⁰⁶¹ (Figure 6.15) Similarly, photographs taken during a family ramble to the top of Box Hill in Surrey that summer, appeared in *The Graphic* a few weeks later captioned *An Eden for the Jaded Londoner*.¹⁰⁶² Nicholls now re-discovered his love of creating composite photocollage images. For example, he placed a snapshot of one of his daughters, taken on the beach at Worthing in 1919, in front of a background image of a bay on The Isle of Wight. Nicholls removed his daughter's head and replaced with that of a different woman. When it was reproduced in *The Bystander*, this composite image was captioned – somewhat inappropriately when one knows the context – *All Alone! Except for our Photographer – Lucky Fellow*.¹⁰⁶³ (Figures 6.16 and 6.17)

With limited time for new photography in a freelance capacity, Nicholls now made increasing use of 'stock' images that he had taken before or during the war. Many of his wartime photographs of women agricultural workers are not 'time-specific'. Simply by changing their captions, their association with the war could be broken. Ever the opportunist, Nicholls was well aware of this. Subsequently, he was able to sell these photographs for several years after the war had ended. His 1918 photograph of a member of the Women's Land Army picking fruit, for example, was reproduced two years later in *The Graphic*, captioned *The Last Basket*:

That the crop of apples this year has fallen far short of that of last year, which was something of a record, is very evident from the high prices which they have commanding in the market. But

¹⁰⁶¹ 'A Summer Holiday in the Harvest Field', *The Graphic*, 20 August, 1921, p. 215. The photograph was taken in the summer of 1920 at Valley Farm in Huntingfield, Suffolk, which was the home of an old friend of Nicholls', Caleb Soundy.

¹⁰⁶² 'An Eden for the Jaded Londoner', *The Graphic*, 4 June, 1921, p. 665.

¹⁰⁶³ 'All Alone! Except for our Photographer – Lucky Fellow', *The Bystander*, 20 July, 1921, p. 141. Nicholls had used the same woman's head for a composite image he had made before the war which was reproduced as a cover image for *Penny Pictorial* – 20 July, 1912.

while that may be the case generally, it can scarcely be true of the joyous modern Eve here seen bringing down the last basket.¹⁰⁶⁴

Similarly, a photograph of his daughter, Peggy, taken in 1918, was reproduced in *The Bystander* five years later, captioned *Down on the Farm*.¹⁰⁶⁵ (Figure 6.18) Since this photograph was taken by Nicholls when he was employed by the Ministry of Information as an official photographer, the negative belonged to the government and he had no right to publish it under his own name. Nicholls, however, seems to have ignored or conveniently forgotten this fact.

Nicholls was still able to find a market for his stock of pre-war photographs. In March 1921, for example, *The Graphic* published one of his photographs which had been taken in 1911 in Ronda, Spain, ten years earlier.¹⁰⁶⁶ The following year, *The Bystander* reproduced one of Nicholls' photographs taken in Volendam, Holland, in 1909.¹⁰⁶⁷ (Figure 6.19)

Always alert to any money-making opportunity, in October 1921 Nicholls tried to sell to the Imperial War Museum a selection of his photographs taken when he was serving with the United Arts Volunteer Rifles in 1915. Foulkes, however, declined to purchase them:

I have gone carefully through the photographs...and those enclosed in the elastic band will be of interest as records if you care to present them to the Museum. I am afraid we shall be unable to purchase them, as there is a ruling of long standing by the Treasury that no officer receiving pay from Government Funds can sell anything to the Government.¹⁰⁶⁸

¹⁰⁶⁴ 'The Last Basket', *The Graphic*, 2 October, 1920, p.493. See also Nicholls family album for 1918.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 'Down on the Farm', *The Bystander*, 3 October, 1923, p.34. IWM Q31037. Taken at Valley Farm, Huntingfield, Suffolk.

¹⁰⁶⁶ 'Tittle-Tattle on the Balconies in Sunny Spain', *The Graphic*, 26 March, 1921, p. 371.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'The Connoisseur', *The Bystander*, 17 May, 1922, p. 329.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Letter from Charles Foulkes to Nicholls, 18 October, 1921. IWM File. Nicholls was clearly unaware of this rule.

Nicholls subsequently decided to donate these photographs to the museum, suggesting that he was not purely motivated by financial gain.¹⁰⁶⁹

The following year, Nicholls donated another of his photographs to the museum – a photograph of the memorial to Captain Fryatt that had recently been erected in Bruges on the spot where he was shot by the Germans during the war.¹⁰⁷⁰ This was taken during a holiday visit to the continent when Nicholls also visited the ruins of the Cloth Hall at Ypres to see for himself the devastation caused by the war. Before he donated this photograph to the museum, Nicholls ensured that he made commercial use of it, selling it to *The Graphic* who published it in August, 1922.¹⁰⁷¹

In 1921, a pre-war photograph by Nicholls of salmon fishing in Scotland was published in *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.¹⁰⁷² The following year, Nicholls sold the same photograph to another publication, a new part-work entitled *Peoples of all Nations*, edited by the prolific editor, writer and journalist, John Hammerton, who specialised in large-scale reference and part-works.¹⁰⁷³ Nicholls may have first met Hammerton during the war, when he produced two popular magazines, *The War Illustrated* and *The Great War*. Hammerton was certainly aware of, and also intensely critical of, the propaganda work undertaken by the Ministry of Information:

When I reflect on the extensive circulation of these journals...I am inclined to ask if any other non-official person was responsible for more 'propaganda' than I provided in these alone. The official

¹⁰⁶⁹Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 26 October, 1921. IWM File. These photographs are IWM Q23524 - Q23556.

¹⁰⁷⁰Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 14 October, 1922. IWM File. Captain Charles Fryatt was a British merchant mariner who was executed by the Germans for attempting to ram a U-boat in 1915. When his ship, the SS Brussels, was captured off the Netherlands in 1916, he was court-martialled and sentenced to death although he was a civilian non-combatant. IWM Collection PC 2366.

¹⁰⁷¹'Memorials of War Martyrs at Bruges', *The Graphic*, 26 August, 1922, p. 319.

¹⁰⁷²'After the Doon Salmon', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 17 September, 1921, p. 69. This photograph had already been published before the war in both *The Graphic* and *Badminton* magazines. – 'The Quest of the Salmon', *The Graphic*, 13 March, 1909, p. 333. 'The Tale of a Salmon', *Badminton Magazine*, September, 1910. Such was its pictorial, timeless quality, however, eight years later, Nicholls managed to sell this photograph yet again – this time to *The Bystander* - 'Where the Salmon Lurks', *The Bystander*, 21 August, 1929, p. 435.

¹⁰⁷³*Peoples of all Nations*, Volume VI, p. 4490. Here, the photograph's location, the River Doon, has been changed in the caption to 'the swift Spey, one of Scotland's most prolific salmon rivers'.

propaganda was costly beyond credence, but all this immense body of attractively produced contemporary record and criticism represented by these two war journals was supplied to the country at not one penny of cost to the taxpayers; indeed, we had to pay the government thousands of pounds to use its photographs, which the serio-comic official propagandists were shipping in thousands to foreign newspapers free of charge! ¹⁰⁷⁴

Hammerton had little time for those in charge of official propaganda. Without actually naming him, Hammerton expressed his opinion of Nicholls' superior at the Photographic Section at the Ministry of Information, Sir Bertram Lima, in very clear terms:

A former clerk at Carmelite House – a gentleman of foreign origin – was put in charge of the bureau of War Photographs, and received a knighthood for this onerous job. Being of army age, he secured a commission in a Dominion unit, which somehow allowed him to stay at home, go about in khaki, and get on with his own office work. How I used to dislike walking along Fleet Street with him when men from the trenches had to salute his military get-up! ¹⁰⁷⁵

Hammerton's hostility to the work of the Ministry of Information seems not to have extended as far as Nicholls, however. In 1921, when he was planning his next ambitious publishing venture – 'an anthropological survey of the whole world, describing and illustrating every race on earth against its national background' – Nicholls was one of the photographers he turned to supply the large number of images he needed. In his introductory editorial remarks to *Peoples of all Nations*, Hammerton boasted:

...the labour and expense involved on the pictorial side of the work exceed anything ever before attempted in a publication of this kind... Photographers in all parts of the world have been at work expressly to enrich our pages, and several of Britain's finest experts in camera

¹⁰⁷⁴ Sir John Hammerton, *Books and Myself: Memoirs of an Editor*, London: Macdonald & Co., 1944, p. 261.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid.

craft have undertaken foreign journeys exclusively on behalf of *Peoples of all Nations*.¹⁰⁷⁶

Hammerton claimed that ‘upwards of over £30,000 have been spent on pictures alone for this work’.¹⁰⁷⁷ It is not known how much Nicholls was paid, but since he contributed photographs to issues devoted to several different countries, it must have been a significant amount. Despite Hammerton’s claims concerning the novelty of his illustrative material, Nicholls did not take any photographs expressly for *Peoples of all Nations*, nor did he undertake any foreign journeys on its behalf. Rather, this was another opportunity for him to sell a selection of his stock photographs.

Advertised as ‘the most superb pictorial work ever offered to the public’, the first issue of *Peoples of all Nations* went on sale in March 1922, following a massive nationwide advertising campaign:¹⁰⁷⁸

Where do you live and carry on your business? Have you seen over your newsagent’s door, whether you are in Cornwall or Wick, an advertisement...for a new publication, “Peoples of all Nations”? That’s national advertising, and there is not a town, not a street but that it is to be seen...That publication will have a sale of millions.¹⁰⁷⁹

Nicholls contributed nearly 100 photographs to *Peoples of all Nations*. Together, they form a summary of his travel during the previous 30 years. While there are no photographs taken when he was in Chile, Nicholls’ photographs appear in the chapters devoted to South Africa, Spain, France, Morocco and the Netherlands.¹⁰⁸⁰ The majority of Nicholls’ photographs, however, appear in those chapters covering England and Scotland.¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁶ J. A. Hammerton (ed), *Peoples of all Nations*, London: The Amalgamated Press, 1924, p. ii.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See the advertisement for *Peoples of all Nations* in, for example, *The Liverpool Echo*, 14 March, 1922, p. 7.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Peoples of all Nations* was sold in 48 fortnightly parts, priced 1s 3d. In 1924, *Peoples of all Nations* was published in book form, in seven volumes, and in 1934 it was re-issued in a condensed edition as a part-work.

¹⁰⁷⁹ ‘Advertise – It Pays!’, *The Bioscope*, 30 March, 1922, p. 32.

¹⁰⁸⁰ The breakdown is: France – 11 photographs; Morocco – 4; Netherlands – 25; South Africa – 8, Spain – 3. Nicholls was not, of course, the only photographer who contributed images. Two other photographers who also contributed many images were A.W. Culter and Donald McLeish.

¹⁰⁸¹ There are 35 photographs taken by Nicholls in the England chapter and a further 4 in the Scotland chapter.

Nicholls himself appears in the magazine - in a group photograph of a family gathered around the fireside, taken at his home in Ealing – *An Englishman's Home: The Shrine of his Love and Honour*.¹⁰⁸²(Figure 6.20)

The years between 1921 and 1923 seem to have been the most productive period of Nicholls' post-war freelance career. At this time, as well as supplying magazines, and *Peoples of all Nations*, Nicholls also contributed photographs to several other part-works and reference works, including Arthur Mee's *The Children's Encyclopedia* and *The Outline of the World Today*, published by George Newnes.¹⁰⁸³

After 1923, the number of Nicholls' photographs reproduced in the illustrated press declined markedly.¹⁰⁸⁴ While he continued to travel abroad each year – Avignon in 1924 and Chamonix in 1925 – very few of his photographs taken on these trips were subsequently published.¹⁰⁸⁵ While pictorial studies, similar to those taken by Nicholls, continue to be published in illustrated magazines, their popularity diminishes. The inference is that Nicholls' photographic aesthetic was beginning to appear old fashioned and his work was no longer in demand from picture editors.

Unfortunately for Nicholls, the decline in his freelance income at this time was mirrored by changes in his museum salary. In November 1922, Nicholls was dismayed to receive a letter from ffoulkes informing him that his salary was going to be reduced the following year by £100 – back down to £400 p.a.¹⁰⁸⁶ Nicholls protested that this went against their agreement when he was appointed. ffoulkes, however, claimed that his hands were tied and that he had no option but to implement recommendations made by the Treasury:

¹⁰⁸² 'An Englishman's Home: The Shrine of his Love and Honour', *Peoples of all Nations*, London: Fleetway House, 1924, Volume III, p. 1857.

¹⁰⁸³ Arthur Mee (ed), *The Children's Encyclopedia*, London: The Educational Book Co., 1922. See Volume Three, p. 1765, 'The British Empire in Africa', for Nicholls' photographs taken in Natal. Harry Hamilton Johnston and Leslie Haden-Guest (eds), *The Outline of the World Today*, London: George Newnes Ltd., 1923. See Volume One, p. 122, 'Holland', for Nicholls' photograph of Edam cheese market.

¹⁰⁸⁴ I have been able to identify 30 examples of photographs published in 1921; 24 in 1922, and 12 in 1923. This figure declines to just 1 in 1924 and remains at just one or two examples each year for the remainder of the decade – see appendix. As well as a reduction in the demand from picture editors, Nicholls' declining health and the economic depression may also have been factors in the reduction of his published photographs.

¹⁰⁸⁵ I have been able to find only one published photograph taken in Avignon – 'Where the Mistral Blows', *The Bystander*, 11 June, 1924, p. 800, and one taken in Chamonix – 'Youth with Swift Feet', *The Bystander*, 30 December, 1925, p. 1004.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 1 November, 1922. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

While admitting that your qualifications are of a very high order, the Treasury consider that the post of Photographer to the Imperial War Museum should not carry a salary of more than £400 per annum and of course this does.¹⁰⁸⁷

When one considers the salaries paid to photographers at other museums at this time, the Treasury had a perfectly valid point. In 1924, according to figures compiled by the Treasury, the photographer employed by the British Museum was paid £250 p.a. and the photographer at the Science Museum just £177 p.a.¹⁰⁸⁸ Nicholls, whether or not he knew or appreciated the fact, was being paid extremely well. Nonetheless, however, he felt that he had been personally let down by ffoulkes who he thought had failed to argue his case strongly enough:

I can understand the insistence in my case, but the feeling that I may have been singled out in some way for this heavy reduction is not pleasant.¹⁰⁸⁹

The only suggestion that I can at the moment make is an arrangement whereby I can get a few hours freedom in each week after the reduction in salary starts to enable me to try to make up for some of the loss I have to face.¹⁰⁹⁰

ffoulkes responded, once again, that his hands were tied:

I am sorry to say there is no possibility of any reduction in the hours of duty, as I find that the Treasury are very opposed to part time services.¹⁰⁹¹

Whatever the Treasury felt, given the amount of photographic work which needed to be done at the museum, ffoulkes would have been reluctant to reduce Nicholls' hours to a part-time basis. As well as taking record and gallery installation

¹⁰⁸⁷Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 9 November, 1922. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹⁰⁸⁸1924-25. *Estimates for civil services (including pensions, education, insurance and other grants) for the year ending 31 March 1925*. London: HMSO, 1924. See pages 21, 43 and 59.

¹⁰⁸⁹Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 7 November, 1922. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹⁰⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁰⁹¹Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 16 November, 1922. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

photographs and printing photographs for sale to the public, there was a growing backlog of negatives which had to be checked. The museum's lease of the Crystal Palace was about to end and the negative collection would need to be moved and new dark rooms set up. Soon, as well as the ongoing photography of new acquisitions, there would also be a need for object movement and installation photographs as well as new galleries to be recorded.¹⁰⁹²

In early 1924, the museum began its move to its new home, the Imperial Institute in South Kensington, next door to the Science Museum. Nicholls was responsible for overseeing the safe transfer of the museum's negatives to their new store:

The Photographic Negative records are now all installed in the basement and I have acknowledged them all in detail...accepting them as so many boxes – contents unexamined – as far as the small negatives are concerned, and have given the approximate number of plates as to the larger sized negatives – also unexamined.¹⁰⁹³

Nicholls also photographed the transfer of the collection to South Kensington and the new museum galleries arranged there.¹⁰⁹⁴ When the museum officially re-opened, on Armistice Day 1924, *The Illustrated London News* published a selection of photographs of the new galleries 'Specially Taken for "The Illustrated London News" by Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum'.¹⁰⁹⁵ (Figures 6.21 and 6.22) These photographs were almost certainly taken by Nicholls.¹⁰⁹⁶

Following its temporary, and in many ways unsatisfactory, sojourn at the Crystal Palace, the museum's future now seemed more secure. This was the certainly the view of the museum's senior management who now looked to review and rationalise the museum's staffing arrangements. Many staff, including Nicholls, had originally been appointed on a temporary basis. The museum now sought to place these

¹⁰⁹²The museum's move to South Kensington would certainly have been welcomed by Nicholls since his daily commute to work was now a short hop on the District Line instead of the long journey to Sydenham

¹⁰⁹³ Memorandum from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 5 March, 1924. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹⁰⁹⁴ For photographs of the transfer of the museum's collection, see IWM Q36908-Q36934. For most of these the photographer is not credited. One of this sequence, however, Q36912, is credited to Nicholls. For typical gallery installation shots, see IWM Q44761-Q44762.

¹⁰⁹⁵ 'Reopened on Armistice Day: The Imperial War Museum', *The Illustrated London News*, 15 November, 1924, p. 928.

¹⁰⁹⁶ One of the photographs published in the ILN is very similar to Nicholls' photograph Q44827A.

appointments on a permanent (but non-pensionable) basis without prejudicing the possibility of them becoming 'established' civil service posts at some future date.¹⁰⁹⁷

In February 1926, ffoulkes wrote to the Treasury, requesting that Nicholls' post be made permanent since:

It will be many years before the work diminishes to any appreciable extent, and in fact, as the museum becomes more widely known both in London and the Provinces, certain activities show a tendency to increase rather than decrease.¹⁰⁹⁸

The Treasury, however, turned down the request. When he was informed of this decision by ffoulkes, Nicholls protested that this was contrary to the agreement they had made in December 1918 that 'my position would be a permanent one assuming that the museum was not closed down'.¹⁰⁹⁹

In his defence, ffoulkes stressed that the decision was not his but the Treasury's:

...at the time of your appointment, the Treasury gave no definite understanding that any post in the museum would be permanent, the question being shelved until the museum itself should be established.

As it was thought that this might now be presumed, the status of various members of the staff, yourself among them, was again brought before the Treasury with a view to the question being settled.

Their Lordship's decision has been communicated to you but my letter...may be misleading. By "a permanent basis" is meant the

¹⁰⁹⁷ After the war, as in Nicholls' case, large numbers of temporary staff were appointed to serve in Government Departments. Until 1926, the ordinary open competitive examinations for entry into the established grades of the Civil Service were suspended. Consequently, there was a large number of vacancies in the established grades, and, at the same time, a large number of temporary staff who had put in various periods of service. In 1926 it was decided that the opportunity should be given to these temporary staff to take the Civil Service examination and become established.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to H. M. Howgrave Graham, the Treasury. 27 February, 1926. IWM File.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 26 March, 1926. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

issue of a Civil Service Certificate which entitles the holder to a pension on retirement.

There is no question of your retirement until a ruling on the age limit arrives when I will take the matter up and hope to get an extension.¹¹⁰⁰

Since he had recently turned 59, the issue of his retirement date would have been of pressing concern to Nicholls.¹¹⁰¹ Moreover, the question of 'permanence' or 'establishment' was not just a semantic issue. Temporary civil servants, such as Nicholls, could only become established by receiving a Civil Service Certificate, gained through passing the Civil Service examination. Nicholls thought that after nearly ten years' continuous service for the museum and the Ministry of Information, this certificate would simply be granted to him, backdated to the time of his appointment.¹¹⁰² In this he was mistaken. Only established civil servants qualified for a civil service pension. Even if he had now been established, however, Nicholls would still have missed out. Pensions were not payable to civil servants who had become established after the age of 50 since they would be unable to put in 10 years established service before the normal retirement age. Given the bureaucratic complexities associated with civil service pay and pension arrangements, it is unclear whether Nicholls realised at the time the full implications of the Treasury's decision on his future finances.

Regarding the timing of his retirement, Nicholls could reasonably hope that his retirement date would be extended. There was certainly no shortage of work for the museum's photographic section. In April 1927, giving evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Estimates, ffoulkes confirmed that the museum's photographic staff were fully occupied and that their wages were covered by profits from the sale of photographs to the public.¹¹⁰³ Moreover, the quality of Nicholls' work could not be faulted. In Nicholls' staff report for 1927, ffoulkes wrote:

¹¹⁰⁰ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 12 April, 1926. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹⁰¹ The normal civil service retirement age was 60, although this could be extended by departments on a discretionary basis, provided that they received Treasury consent.

¹¹⁰² Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 19 April, 1926. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹⁰³ *First and Second Reports from the Second Committee on Estimates*, London: HMSO, 1927, p.54.

Highly satisfactory in work, personality and in the control of the dark rooms. By his care and supervision he has saved an appreciable amount of public money. Is very popular with all the staff. Is most careful to keep within all the museum regulations as to the issue of photographs etc.¹¹⁰⁴

Unable to do anything about the issue of his establishment, ffoulkes did his best to secure a pay rise for Nicholls. In February 1928, he wrote to the Treasury:

He is an officer of sterling merit and a hard worker, has sole charge of the official War Negatives numbering approximately 90,000, and is responsible for the purchase and issue of material. He is indispensable not only in a supervisory capacity but also on account of his skill in preserving and repairing the negatives.¹¹⁰⁵

In May 1928, after rejecting ffoulkes' request several times, the Treasury finally agreed to increase in Nicholls' salary by annual increments of £25 to a maximum of £500 and to grant an extension of Nicholls' employment until his 65th birthday.¹¹⁰⁶

While discussions with the Treasury regarding his future were taking place, Nicholls' health was giving increasing cause for concern. In February 1921, Nicholls had developed a leg ulcer which confined him to bed for several weeks.¹¹⁰⁷ This ulcer was almost certainly an early symptom of the glycosuria, a sign of type 2 diabetes, which was to have a major impact on Nicholls' health a few years later.¹¹⁰⁸ In February 1928, Nicholls was certified as being unfit for work for at least six weeks.¹¹⁰⁹ In January 1930, his doctor advised him that his condition was now so serious that he needed to go into hospital for a series of tests.¹¹¹⁰ The symptoms of glycosuria can

¹¹⁰⁴ Confidential staff report on Nicholls, written by Charles ffoulkes, 6 July, 1927. IWM File HR/01/1930/021. ffoulkes had a high opinion of Nicholls' technical expertise. When Lloyd George's typed copy of the Armistice terms was displayed in bright sunlight at the Crystal Palace, the typing on the front page disappeared – 'However, our expert photographer, Mr. Horace Nicholls, dealt with the matter with such success that in the print he produced every word is legible'. ffoulkes, *Arms and the Tower*, pp. 142-143.

¹¹⁰⁵ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to the Treasury, 16 February, 1928. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹⁰⁶ Letter from the Treasury to Charles ffoulkes, 14 May, 1928. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹⁰⁷ Letter from Nicholls' doctor, Stanley Box, 9 February, 1921, IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹⁰⁸ Glycosuria is a condition characterized by an excess of sugar in the urine, typically associated with diabetes or kidney disease.

¹¹⁰⁹ Letter from Nicholls' doctor, Allan Fearnley, 29 February, 1928. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹¹⁰ Letter from Nicholls' doctor, Allan Fearnley, 27 January, 1930. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

include chronic fatigue, weight loss, and eyesight problems. Nicholls' poor health would certainly have affected his performance at work. Shortly after Nicholls retired, ffoulkes told him that he had noticed that his 'current work showed a heavy decline'.¹¹¹¹

ffoulkes was now planning a major reorganisation of the museum's Photographic Department after Nicholls' departure. Nicholls's retirement presented an opportunity to save some money. In September 1931, ffoulkes wrote a memorandum regarding Nicholls' retirement to the museum's Director General, Sir Martin Conway:

His retirement and the resultant promotion of Mr. Abbott, though not to Nicholls' full salary figure, will show an appreciable saving on our estimates for next year.¹¹¹²

In March 1932, museum staffing changes now agreed, ffoulkes wrote to Nicholls:

The time has come when I have reluctantly to face the question of your retirement and the reconstruction of the Dark Room Staff.

The post you hold will lapse from 1st April (it has always been considered personal to yourself) and a post of Foreman Photographer will be created which will carry a salary similar to that ruling in the Victoria and Albert Museum: - £180...

Your name will go forward with a recommendation for a retiring gratuity after the end of the month.¹¹¹³

Nicholls replied that he was looking forward to leaving the museum:

I am sorry to finish my service with such an unpleasant taste, but a strong feeling will persist that there has been a breach of faith with me and I find it very difficult to stifle that feeling...

¹¹¹¹Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 3 June 1932, IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹¹²Memorandum from Charles ffoulkes to Sir Martin Conway, 25 September, 1931. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹¹³Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 5 March, 1932. IWM File HR/01/1930/021. Nicholls' retirement date was postponed from 17 February until 31 March so he could assess a collection of negatives recently donated to the museum by the RAF. When Nicholls received the details of his end of service gratuity this was another source of discontent. The amount - just under £84 - was far less than he was anticipating.

In all the circumstances I shall welcome my freedom from an atmosphere which I have latterly found depressing in the extreme...¹¹¹⁴

Nicholls' last day at the museum should have been 31 March. However, he decided to use up his remaining holiday entitlement so that he could leave the museum as soon as possible and not have to return to work after the Easter break.¹¹¹⁵ On Friday 18 March, when ffoulkes went to Nicholls' office, he found the room empty; Nicholls had already left the museum.¹¹¹⁶ Unable to say goodbye personally, ffoulkes wrote to Nicholls:

Will you please accept my very sincere thanks for all the valuable work you have done for us and the assistance you have given in helping to make the Museum popular and interesting to the public.¹¹¹⁷

Nicholls reply was courteous but terse, reflecting the poor state to which their relationship had now deteriorated:

Dear Major ffoulkes,

I have to thank you for your good wishes of the 21st inst

Yours faithfully¹¹¹⁸

Nicholls' departure from the museum did not bring an end to his anger and sense of being treated unfairly. A few weeks later, having brooded on the matter at home, Nicholls wrote to ffoulkes:

I have rather shirked writing this letter, being an unpleasant task... but when I regretfully have to say that I am compelled to look upon my acceptance of service with the Museum as the great mistake of my life, you may realise how much it has meant to me...

¹¹¹⁴ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 9 March, 1932. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹¹⁵ In 1932 Easter Sunday was on 27 March.

¹¹¹⁶ On 5 March, Nicholls had eight days' holiday remaining to him. With the Easter Bank Holidays, this meant that he could leave the museum on Thursday 17 March and not have to return.

¹¹¹⁷ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 21 March, 1932. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹¹⁸ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 22 March, 1932. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

Can I be expected to feel happy about it all? – I am sure you realise my position and am sorry to trouble you about it, but I really owe it to myself and those dependant on me to state my case clearly, and feel confident that if it is again brought to the notice of the Commissioners of His majesty's Treasury, their Lordships will see that I am fairly treated.¹¹¹⁹

By this time, however, ffoulkes' patience was exhausted. Politely but firmly, he informed Nicholls that he was terminating their correspondence.

Your case has been so fully discussed on several occasions that I feel that there is now nothing to be gained by continuing this correspondence.¹¹²⁰

After nearly fifteen years, Nicholls' association with the Imperial War Museum had come to an end. In April, *The British Journal of Photography* reported the news of Nicholls' retirement:

Photographic experience and expert technical knowledge were required in this position, especially from the point of view of the preservation of the irreplaceable war negatives and the systematic duplication of negatives showing signs of deterioration as a result of the conditions under which many were produced. The constant demand for prints, enlargements and lantern slides from these historic records, and particularly the urgent Press demands on such occasions as the death of the late Earl Haig, provided problems of organisation which had to be solved for the efficient conduct of the photographic branch of the War Museum.¹¹²¹

The journal noted that during the war, as an official photographer, Nicholls had 'secured a number of valuable records which have found a permanent place

¹¹¹⁹ Letter from Nicholls to Charles ffoulkes, 4 May 1932. IWM File HR/01/1930/021

¹¹²⁰ Letter from Charles ffoulkes to Nicholls, 3 June, 1932. IWM File HR/01/1930/021.

¹¹²¹ *The British Journal of Photography*, 22 April, 1932, p.?. Nicholls' retirement was also reported, briefly, in *The Times* (7 April, 1932) and the *Windsor Express* (8 May, 1932).

amongst the war negatives', including 'a series of pictures of woman's war work'.¹¹²² They made no mention of Nicholls' work as a freelance photographer for illustrated magazines. In contrast, another report, following his retirement, emphasised the longevity and diversity of Nicholls' photographic career, describing him as a 'war correspondent, official photographer, and traveller':

The guardian of 100,000 photographic negatives at the Imperial War Museum and 100,000 memories of all parts of the world has retired...

A *Sunday Despatch* reporter found him at his home in Ealing, poring over photographs he had taken over 40 years ago in the South American earthquake area.

The walls of Mr. Nicholls' house are covered with photographs of the South African war.¹¹²³

Regarding his early work, Nicholls is quoted as saying, 'There is a persistent demand for enlargements from these negatives from all parts of the world'.¹¹²⁴ By this stage of his long career, many of Nicholls' early photographs were now regarded as historical documents and, as such, had found a new market. In 1936, for example, following the death of King George V, Odhams Press published a lavishly illustrated commemorative book entitled *The Story of Seventy Momentous Years: The Life and Times of King George V 1865-1936*. This publication included six photographs taken by Nicholls, the most recent of which, a view of Henley Regatta, had been taken in 1912.¹¹²⁵ (Figure 6.23)

The few photographs that Nicholls continued to have reproduced in magazines were now invariably images that he had taken many years earlier. While some of Nicholls' time-specific photographs now assumed a new commercial utility as illustrations of historic events, others retained their marketability through their timeless pictorial

¹¹²² Ibid.

¹¹²³ 'Man who guarded 100,000 pictures', *Sunday Despatch*, 1 May, 1932, p.?

¹¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹¹²⁵ Harold Wheeler (ed) *The Story of Seventy Momentous Years: The Life and Times of King George V 1865-1936*. London: Odhams Press, 1936. Other photographs by Nicholls were of the South African War and the funeral of King Edward VI.

quality. In 1937, three of Nicholls' photographs were reproduced in *The Tatler – The Gipsies of Epsom Downs, Rondel of Two Old Fishermen and The Bleak Days of Winter*.¹¹²⁶ All three of these photographs had been taken before the First World War.¹¹²⁷ In the case of *The Bleak Days of Winter*, this pictorial study of highland cattle had first been published 30 years earlier, in 1907.¹¹²⁸ (Figure 6.24)

Nicholls was prepared to experiment with advances in photographic technology, buying himself a 35mm Leica camera in about 1937.¹¹²⁹ In his choice of subjects and in his photographic aesthetic, however, Nicholls was deeply conservative, continuing to embrace the Pictorialism which had brought him commercial success. When war was declared in September 1939, Nicholls revisited the theme of the young woman reading a letter from her sweetheart at the front that he had first photographed following the outbreak of the First World War, 25 years earlier.¹¹³⁰ (Figures 6.25 and 6.26)

In 1938 Nicholls left the house in Amherst Avenue, Ealing, where he had lived for 35 years and moved to Worthing in West Sussex.¹¹³¹ (Figure 6.27) On 28 July, 1941, aged 74, he died at home from complications associated with diabetes.

Despite his long, varied and successful photographic career, Nicholls' death went unreported by the photographic press. It was left to the local newspaper to publish a brief obituary:

A war correspondent in the Boer War and a Ministry of Information
worker in the last war, Mr. Horace Walter Nicholls...died on

¹¹²⁶ 'The Gipsies of Epsom Downs', *The Tatler*, 2 June, 1937, p. 440. 'Rondel of Two Old Fishermen', *The Tatler*, 18 August, 1937, p. 305. 'The Bleak Days of Winter: Highland Cattle on a Southron Farm', *The Tatler*, 20 January, 1937, p. 118-119.

¹¹²⁷ Nicholls would not, of course, at this time have had access to the photographs he took when employed by the Department and Ministry of Information.

¹¹²⁸ 'Highland Cattle: A Scene in Middlesex', *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 14 December, 1907, p. 624. To introduce an element of novelty, Nicholls printed this photograph laterally inverted.

¹¹²⁹ The Leica camera was first sold in Britain in 1926 so Nicholls took a little while to embrace 35mm film photography. The very few examples of colour photography I have found, such as in *Peoples of all Nations* are *coloured* images rather than colour photographs. In 1937, Nicholls used his 35mm negatives taken with his Leica to create a series of novelty postage stamp photographs – see Buckland, *The Golden Summer*, p. 141.

¹¹³⁰ See Nicholls family albums for 1914 and 1939.

¹¹³¹ Nicholls moved to 7 Trent Road. He had been associated with Worthing for over 30 years. All his children went to the Steyne School there and his earliest photograph taken in Worthing was published in 1906 – 'Londoners by the Sea', *The Graphic*, 25 August, 1906, p. 245.

Monday...Mr. Nicholls had been a free lance photographer in his early days and had been connected with the Press most of his life.¹¹³²

¹¹³² 'Death of Former War Correspondent', *Worthing Gazette*, 30 July, 1941, p. 7.

Chapter Six – Illustrations



Figure 6.1 Horace Nicholls, Charles ffoulkes, December, 1918. IWM Q31270.



Figure 6.2. Staff of the Ministry of Information Photographic Section, December, 1918. (Nicholls is second from the left in the back row). RPS 2003-5001_0002_26632_0031.



Figure 6.3. Horace Nicholls, Badge of HMS Viceroy, IWM Q20212.



Figure 6.4. Horace Nicholls, A 16th century bronze lion horn with the arms of the Danish Family Alkeveders, exhibited in Tower of London.IWM Q31364.



Figure 6.5. Horace Nicholls, an 18 inch naval gun arriving at the Imperial War Museum, Crystal Palace, 1920..IWM Q20533.



PREPARING FOR THE CRYSTAL PALACE VICTORY SHOW

"Mather" is the name of a 62-inch lathe which has just been placed in position at the Crystal Palace for the Exhibition of the Imperial War Museum to be opened by the King on June 8. These lathes, of which 743 were used during the war, were produced by the firm, the lathe having a length of over seven miles. Over 2,000,000 of these projectiles were shot away in France since the war. The Exhibition will contain 100,000 exhibits.

Figure 6.6. 'Preparing for the Crystal Palace Victory Show', *The Graphic*, 15 May, 1920 (IWM Q31398).

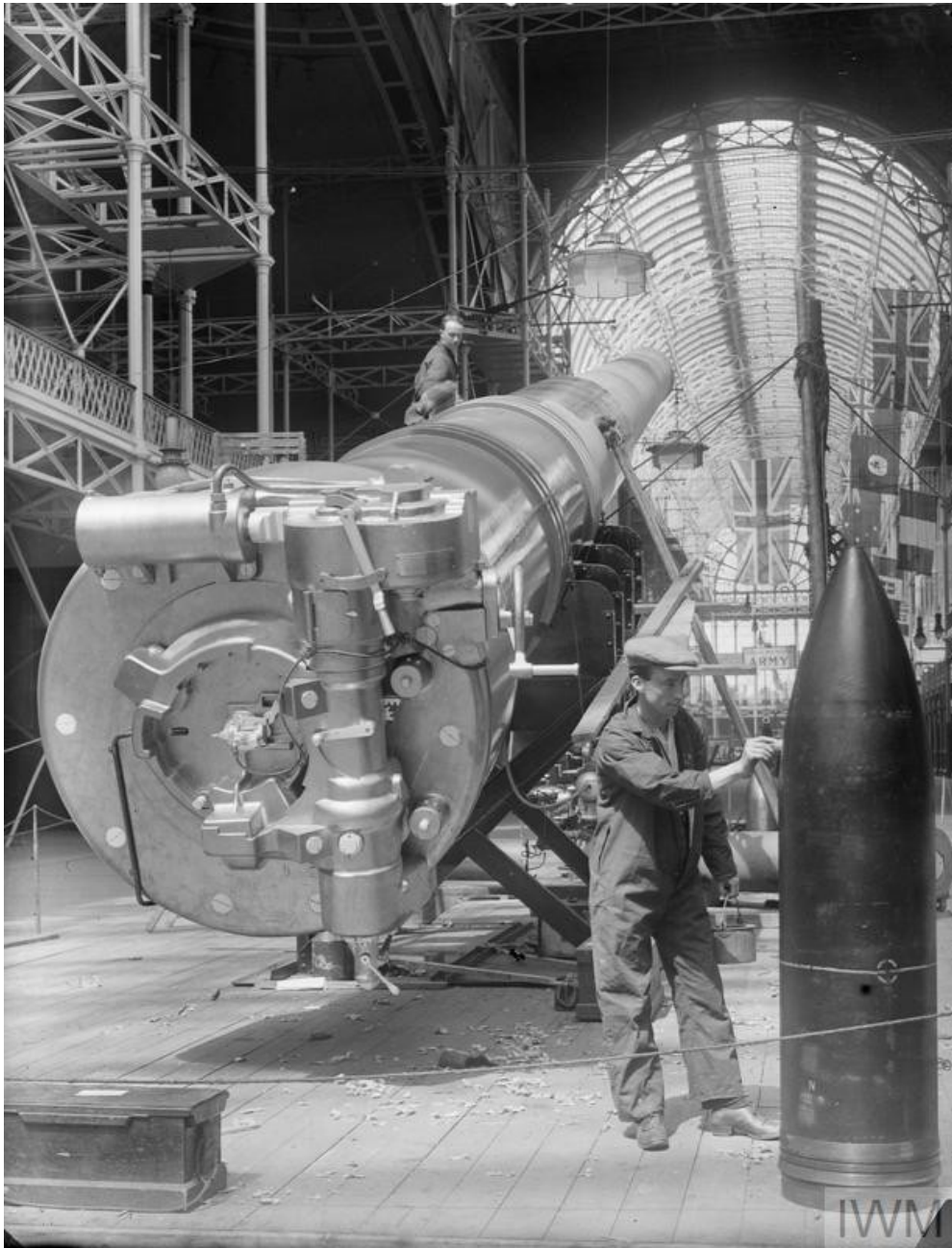
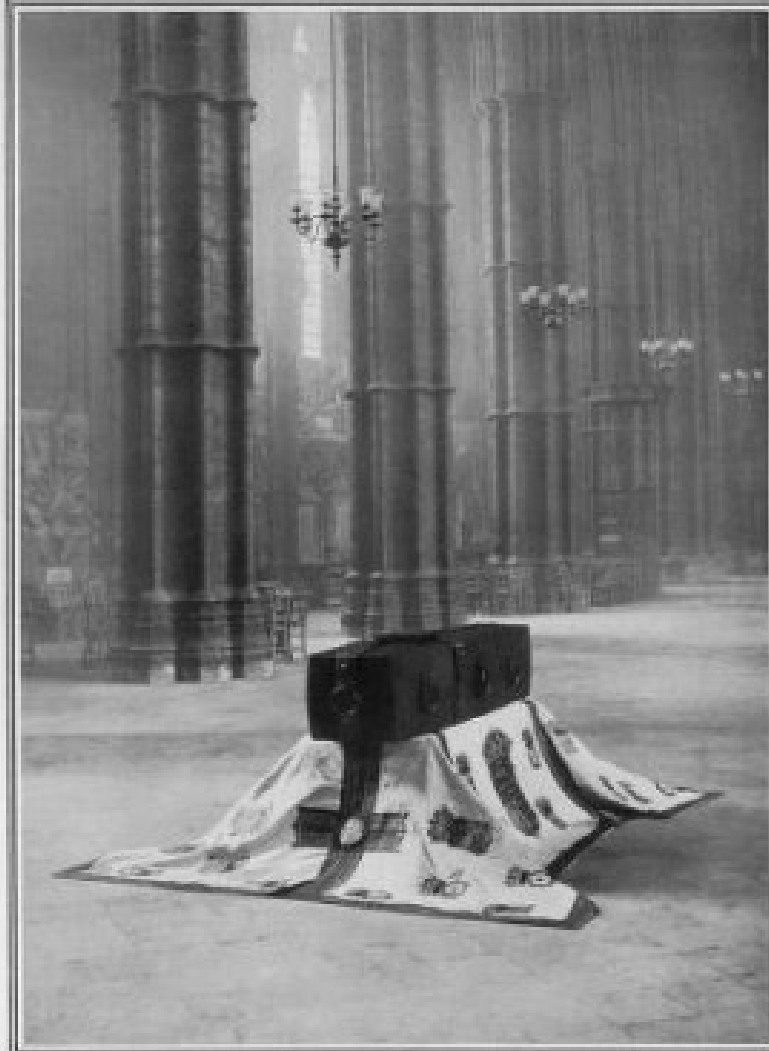


Figure 6.7. Horace Nicholls, an 18 inch naval gun at the Imperial War Museum, Crystal Palace, 1920. IWM Q20541



Figure 6.9. Horace Nicholls, the coffin of the 'Unknown Warrior' in Westminster Abbey, London, 7 November 1920. IWM Q31515.

THE BURIAL OF THE UNKNOWN HERO.



THE COFFIN IN WHICH THE BODY OF THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR REPOSES

This picture was actually taken in the Abbey before the American Day ceremony took place. The coffin is of English oak and has engraved on its lid the name of each soldier and a metal plate with several and still on top. When the picture was taken the coffin was resting on the beautiful embroidered pall which was presented to the Abbey at the beginning of the year by the Actors' Church Union. After the ceremony the coffin was returned to France to receive the remains of the Unknown Warrior. It is this coffin which was in the procession and which is now buried in the Abbey.

Figure 6.10. Walsham's Ltd. 'The Burial of the Unknown Hero', *The Sphere*, 13 November, 1920.

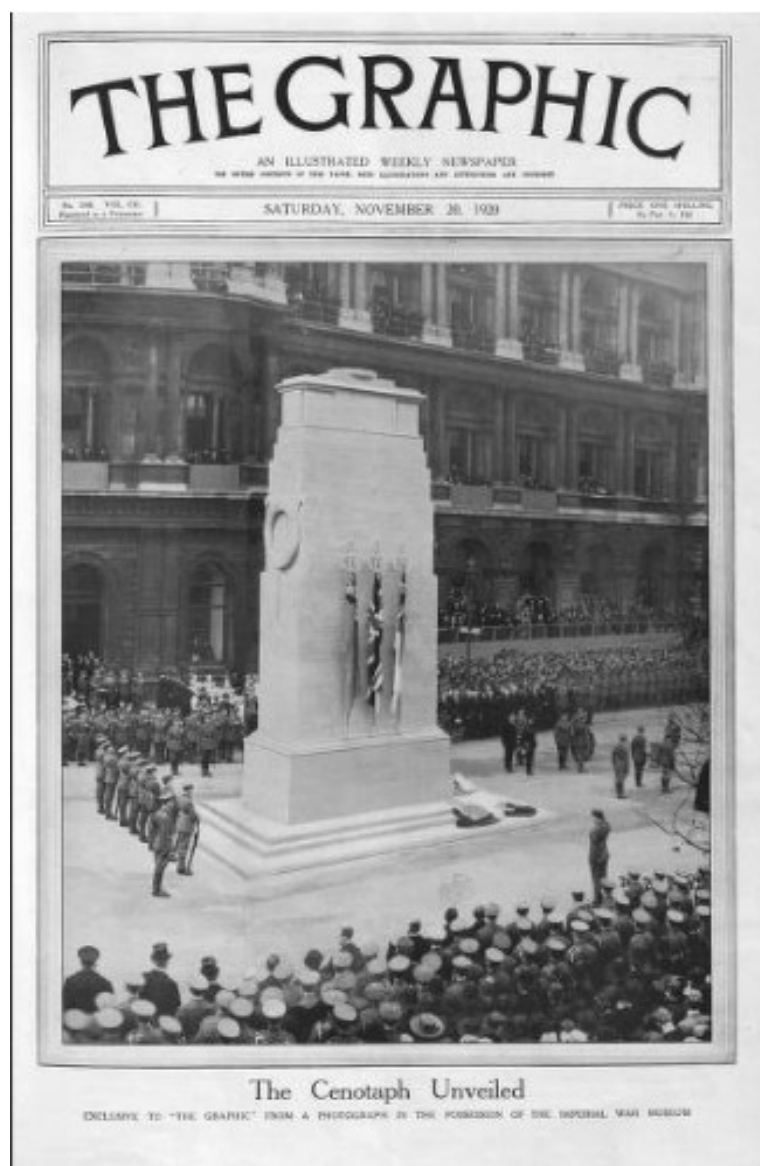


Figure 6.11. 'The Cenotaph Unveiled', *The Graphic* 20 November, 1920.(IWM Q31491)



Figure 6.12 . Horace Nicholls, Biggleswade War Memorial, c.1921. IWM Q42426



Figure 6.13. The St Stephen's Church War Memorial, West Ealing, London, c. 1922. IWM Q37001. The name of Nicholls' son, George, can be seen at the bottom of the column to the right of the font.

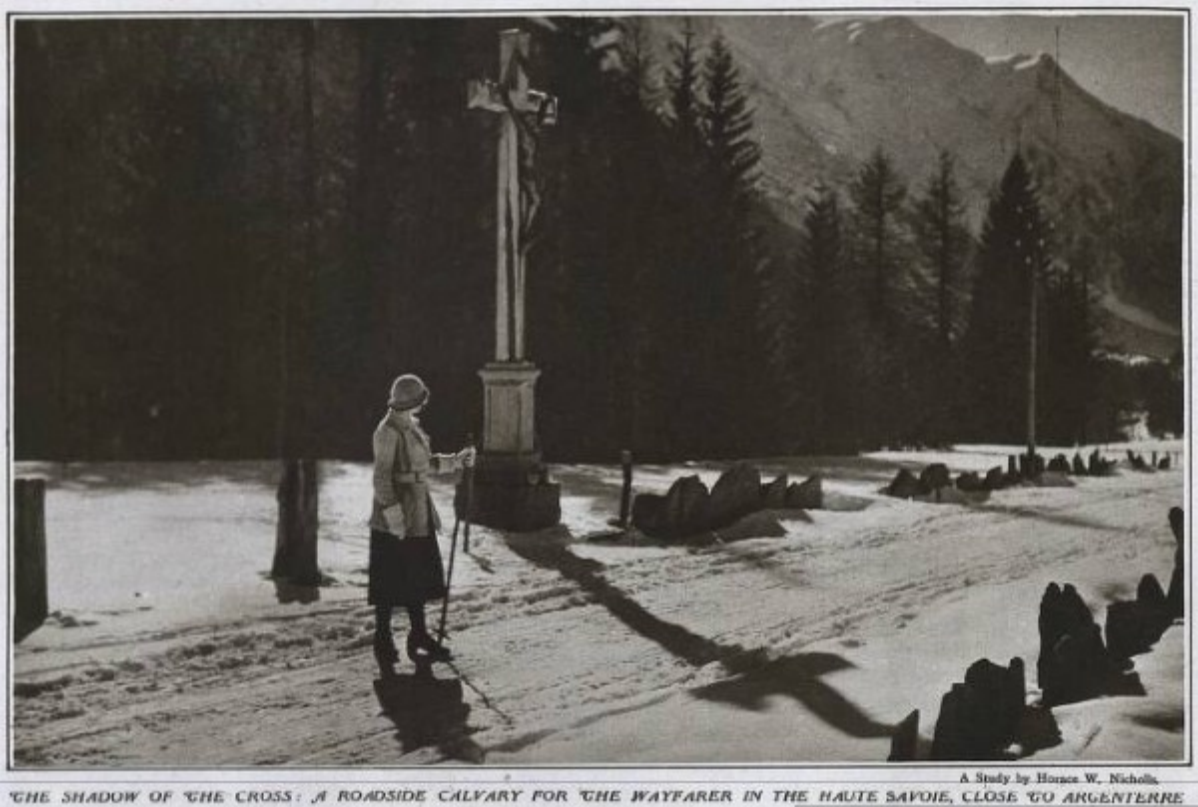


Figure 6.14. 'The Shadow of the Cross: A Roadside Calvary for the Traveller in the Haute Savoie, Close to Argenterre', *The Graphic*, 26 March, 1921.



Figure 6.15. 'A Summer Holiday in the Harvest Field', *The Graphic*, 20 August, 1921

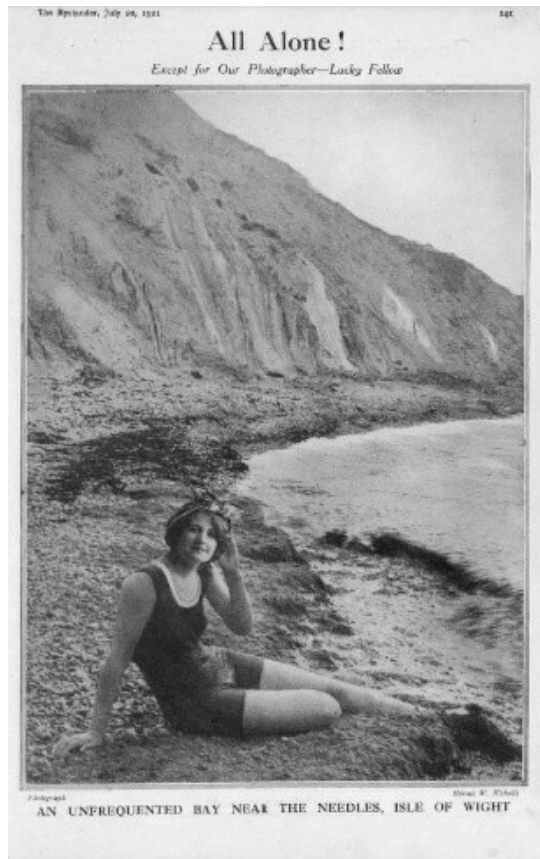


Figure 6.16. 'All Alone! Except for our Photographer – Lucky Fellow', *The Bystander*, 20 July, 1921.



Figure 6.17. Nicholls Family Album, 1919.



Figure 6.18. 'Down on the Farm', *The Bystander*, 3 October, 1923. (See IWM Q31037).



Figure 6.19. 'The Connoisseur', *The Bystander*, 17 May, 1922.



Figure 6.20. 'An Englishman's Home: The Shrine of his Love and Honour', *Peoples of all Nations*, London: Fleetway House, 1924, Volume III, p. 1857.



Figure 6.21. 'Reopened on Armistice Day: The Imperial War Museum', *The Illustrated London News*, 15 November, 1924.



Figure 6.22. Horace Nicholls. Artillery pieces on display at the Imperial War Museum, South Kensington, 1927. IWM Q44827A



Figure 6.23. Henley Regatta, 1912, *The Story of Seventy Momentous Years: The Life and Times of King George V 1865-1936*, Odhams Press, 1936, p. 61.

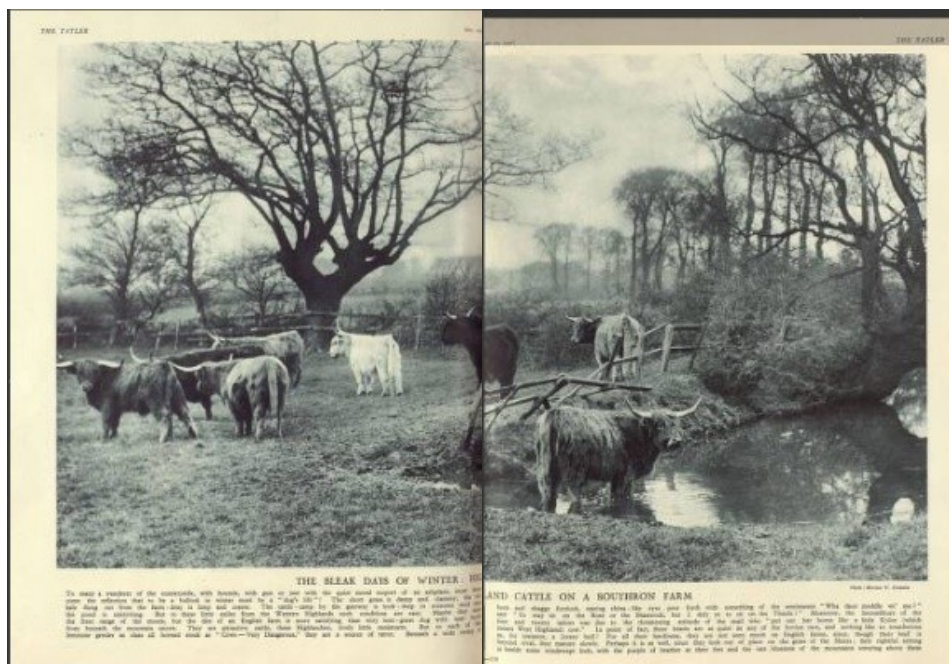


Figure 6.24. 'The Bleak Days of Winter: Highland Cattle on a Southron Farm', *The Tatler*, 20 January, 1937.

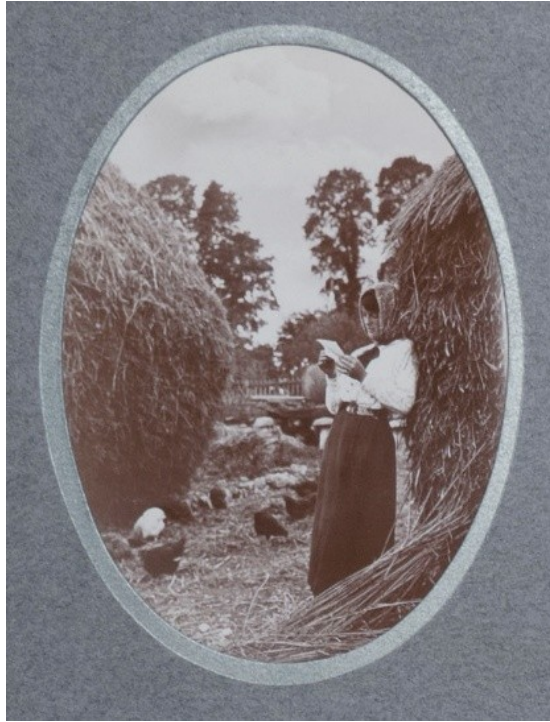


Figure 6.25. Nicholls Family Album, 1914.



Figure 6.26. Nicholls Family Album, 1939.



Figure 6.27. Nicholls at Trent Road, Worthing. Nicholls Family Album, 1938.

CONCLUSION

The empirical approach adopted by this thesis, using a detailed analysis of archival sources, has revealed information about Nicholls' work and choice of subjects which challenge or correct perceived assumptions regarding aspects of his photography. Some of these assumptions relate to specific images or groups of photographs, others concern broader aspects of Nicholls' working practices.

On a microhistoric level, my research has provided new, additional or corrective information regarding Nicholls' images which are in the public domain. Previously missing or inaccurate cataloguing details relating to the dates, locations and sitters of many of Nicholls' photographs held by IWM have now been added or corrected.¹¹³³

On a broader level, a graphic set of photographs of South African diamond miners, for example, long attributed to Nicholls, have now been identified as being the work of another photographer, Robert Harris. Other South African photographs sold by Nicholls as his own work have now been shown to have been taken by Alf Hosking a photographer, based in Cape Town. Conversely, unattributed photographs held in the Zuid-Afrikahuisarchive in Amsterdam have now been identified as having been taken by Nicholls. Similarly, Nicholls' photographs of the South African War, described in the past as 'a comprehensive record' are now shown to be only a partial record of the earlier stage of the conflict. The significance of his photographic copyright case has been re-appraised in the context of his membership of the Photographic Copyright Union. Previously unknown subjects and locations of many of Nicholls' photographs reproduced in the illustrated press have been identified.

Nicholls' dalliance with advertising photography and commercial postcard publishing has been recognised for the first time. Nicholls' close friendship with the photographic inventor and manufacturer, B. J. Edwards has been identified. Nicholls'

¹¹³³ As just one striking example, two group photographs (IWM Q30476 and Q30477), catalogued as 'A group of unidentified Spanish officials, possibly diplomats', actually show Charles Masterman chairing a meeting of 'the Moot', the decision-making committee for propaganda at Wellington House.

photographs of disfigured soldiers receiving facial prosthetic masks, previously thought not to have been intended for publication, have been shown to have been published as propaganda in both Europe and the United States. The location of Nicholls' well-known series of photographs of women in uniform has been identified, together with their subsequent usage and the identity of some of the sitters.

Individually, these details have added incrementally to the historical record of Nicholls' photography; Taken together, they illustrate the importance of a wider re-appraisal of what it meant to pursue a photographic career in this period, how Nicholls navigated the opportunities available to him at different times during his career, and how photographic careers can be researched and understood by the photographic historian. In this respect, my thesis makes a contribution not just to the study of Nicholls but, more generally, suggests an approach that might be useful to those researching other aspects of photographic history. In his recent article, *Why Pictures? From Art History to Business History and Back Again*, Steve Edwards, advocates that photographic historians could usefully widen their purview so as to include neglected or under-researched aspects of photographic business history:

Intellectual property, patents, copyright, trademarks and fraud (piracy) are obvious topics for attention. How can we understand the production of postcards without an economic geography of markets? There is a lot of good work on the development of photo-reproductive techniques, but less about the history of photo-book and magazine production, as commodity things that are produced, distributed and sold in the marketplace.¹¹³⁴

Within the framework of a detailed empirical study of Nicholls' career, my thesis touches on aspects of all of these potential topics for further research. I hope that my research will provide the basis in the future for theoretical/interpretive, assessments of aspects of Nicholls' work but also, more generally, that it will prove useful to those researching photography from a business or commercial perspective.

¹¹³⁴ Steve Edwards, 'Why Pictures? From Art History to Business History and Back Again', *History of Photography*, Vol. 44, No. 1, January 2020.

Throughout his long career, Nicholls showed himself adept at responding quickly to professional and commercial opportunities.¹¹³⁵ His moves to Chile and then South Africa as a young man demonstrate his willingness to embrace new possibilities, as does his subsequent re-invention of himself as a war photographer and public lecturer. As a 'press photo artist', Nicholls was constantly on the lookout for new subjects to photograph and, crucially, for new ways to make use of those photographs he had already taken. Some of these, such as his experiments with postcard illustration and advertising photography were relatively short-lived. Others, such as selling his older photographs as 'stock' illustrations for books and part-works remained an important source of income until the end of his life.

As the son of a professional photographer, Nicholls would have been under no illusion as to the difficulty of earning a living through photography. The financial imperative is a constant presence throughout his career. Nicholls' decision to move to South Africa was clearly motivated by a desire to make money and he freely admitted that his intention was to return to Britain as soon as he had made his fortune. The outbreak of the South African War effectively destroyed his business as a portrait photographer but he was able to turn this conflict to his commercial advantage through his war photography. - 'I had every hope of turning the war to profitable account, to in some way make up for the loss of my business'. It was the unwillingness of lantern slide publishers to pay the high price which Nicholls demanded that led him to embark on his subsequent lecture tour. Similarly, Nicholls' court case for alleged copyright infringement was motivated primarily by financial considerations rather than an altruistic desire to improve photographers' rights. The case set no legal precedents, the judgement was subsequently appealed against successfully, and Nicholls himself on occasion demonstrated a willingness to use other photographers' work without giving them due credit. The importance Nicholls placed on financial matters is also evident in his lengthy correspondence with the War Office following his son, George's death, to ensure that all of his outstanding back pay was received. During the First World War, Nicholls negotiated a salary with the Ministry of Information that was twice that paid to his fellow photographer G P

¹¹³⁵Liz Heron entitled her review of *Horace Nicholls: Pioneer Photojournalist*, 'Photo-opportunist'. The Guardian, 5 March, 1989, p. 23.

Lewis. After the war, Nicholls' employment by the Imperial War Museum was characterised by a long-running dispute concerning his salary and pension which continued even beyond his retirement.

The absence of surviving business accounts makes it impossible to accurately quantify Nicholls' income as a freelance photographer. However, the fact that he lived in a large suburban home, employed a domestic servant, sent all his children to boarding school and enjoyed a couple of foreign holidays a year with his family, attests to a level of remuneration that clearly define him as 'well-off'. When he died, Nicholls left an estate valued at £16,448.¹¹³⁶ To place this amount in context, the photographer Frank Meadow Sutcliffe, who also died in 1941, left just over £3,000. Another well-known photographer, F. J. Mortimer, who died in 1944, left just £315. Bernard Alfieri who had worked for *The Daily Mirror*, left just £405 when he died in 1939. Outside the photographic sphere, Charles ffoulkes, who died in 1947, left £1,887 and Ivor Nicholson, who predeceased Nicholls by four years, left £8,663 – a considerable amount but still only about half that left by Nicholls.

The biographical structure of this thesis provides far more than just a convenient chronological backdrop. For Nicholls, photography was much more than just a career; Photography permeated every aspect of his life, blurring the boundaries between public and private, personal and professional.

Nicholls was born and grew up in a photographic studio; his father and uncle were both photographers and at least three of his siblings were photographers. When he met his wife, she was working as a receptionist and assistant in a photographic studio. From when they were very young, he taught all of his children photography. Nicholls' family home in Ealing was also his studio, dark room and office. The walls of his living and dining rooms were decorated with framed examples of his photographs. The family photograph albums, lovingly compiled by Nicholls and given to his wife each year as a Christmas present, include examples of his commercial work alongside personal snapshots.

¹¹³⁶ <https://probatesearch.service.gov.uk/Calendar?surname=nicholls&yearOfDeath=1941&page=3#calendar>. For probate amounts, see probatesearch.service.gov.uk

Nicholls began using his family and friends as subjects for his commercial photography when he was in South Africa. He continued to do so throughout his career. This practice was, of course, by no means unique to Nicholls. It is, however, surprising that Nicholls was able to maintain this link between the personal and professional worlds in his propaganda photography during the First World War and then in his work for the IWM. On a practical level, for convenience, Nicholls often photographed locations with which he was familiar. One of his first commissions from the Department of Information was to photograph scenes at a recruiting office. The location chosen was Hounslow recruiting office where Nicholls had until very recently worked as a Substitution Officer. While the idea of tracing the transformation from civilian to soldier may have originated with others, the suggestion of using Hounslow as the location certainly came from Nicholls. Nicholls' photographs for *From Desk to Trench* was just the first of many instances when his personal life informed and shaped his professional practice. After the war, when photographing war memorials for the IWM, Nicholls' choice of location and subject was, once again, often shaped by personal factors. He photographed memorials in places with which he had a strong personal connection, taking photographs while on holiday or when visiting family and friends. Most movingly, he also photographed the memorial at his local church, St Stephen's in Ealing. There, engraved among the names of the fallen, was that of his son, George.

Photography is a 'slippery' medium. This is clearly evident in Nicholls' photographs. Are they propaganda or journalism, social history or social comment, documentary record or work of art? This equivocacy is also pronounced when when one considers their creator. Is Nicholls an artist, journalist or propagandist?

There is a single unifying thread which allows us to make sense of this multiplicity of photographic genres and roles – Nicholls' life. Photography occupied a liminal space in Nicholls' life. ¹¹³⁷His personal life and his commercial and professional photography are so closely intertwined that one cannot meaningfully examine one without understanding the other.

¹¹³⁷Here, I am using liminal in its literal sense of being on a boundary and thus simultaneously fulfilling two different functions rather than the anthropological sense of being in a state of transition.

An empirical study of Nicholls' life, moreover, provides insights not just into Nicholls as a unique case, but, more broadly, into photography, photographic careers and photographic history. Nicholls enjoyed a long, varied and successful photographic career. During his career, photographic equipment, processes and techniques changed profoundly – changes which Nicholls was happy to embrace. Significantly, the range of professional and commercial opportunities that a career in photography offered also changed fundamentally during this period. Just as natural philosophy had been the precursor of defined scientific disciplines, photography with its many applications was also becoming increasingly specialised and compartmentalised. What it meant to be 'a photographer' was changing. Fortunately for him, Nicholls was of a generation where his breadth of photographic knowledge was sufficient to allow him to 'know everything' and successfully transcend the nascent boundaries of photographic occupations and specialisms – becoming a studio portrait photographer, war photographer, journalistic photographer, propagandist, and museum photographer. An examination of Nicholls' life also reveals the intangible, personal factors and serendipitous events that contribute to shaping a professional career – the role of familial precedent and parental example, the importance of friends, acquaintances and personal contacts and, most importantly, the random, unplanned events, such as the outbreak of wars, which acted as catalysts and opportunities.

By studying Nicholls' photographs we are able to glean insights into his life. Similarly, by examining Nicholls' life we are able to gain a greater knowledge and appreciation of his photography and a better understanding of the possibilities offered by a photographic career in this period.

Hopefully, this thesis will contribute to a greater understanding of both.

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The Builder

The Bystander

Cambridge Chronicle and Journal

Cambridge Gazette

Cambridge Independent Press

Cape Argus

Chatham and Rochester News

El Correspondencia de Espana

Country Life

The Critic

Daily Graphic

Daily Mirror

Daily News

Daily Sketch
Daily Telegraph
Dundee Evening Telegraph
Durban Mercury
Eastern Daily Press
Edinburgh Evening News
Evening News
Le Figaro
Fry's Magazine
The Graphic
Hansard
Harper's Weekly
Henley and South Oxford Standard
Herts Advertiser
Home Chat
Huddersfield Chronicle
Illustrated London News
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News
Illustrated War News
L'Illustration
Isle of Wight Chronicle
Johannesburg Times
Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute
Kingston and Surbiton News
Lady's Pictorial
Lancashire Daily Post
The Landmark
Leeds Mercury
Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper

Liverpool Daily Post
Liverpool Echo
Lock to Lock Times
London Daily News
London Evening Standard
London Gazette
London Journal
Manchester Courier
El Mercurio
Middlesbrough Daily Gazette
Middlesex and Buckinghamshire Advertiser
Middlesex Chronicle
Morris Trade Journal
Natal Mercury
The Observer
Optical Magic Lantern Journal
Pall Mall Gazette
The Patrician
Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times
Penny Pictorial
The People
The Photogram
Photographic Chronicle
Photographic Journal
Photographic News
Photography
Popular Science Monthly
The Process Photogram
Punch

The Queen
The Quiver
Reading Mercury
Reading Observer
Sheffield Evening Telegraph
Shields Daily Gazette and Shipping Telegraph
The Sketch
South Africa
South African Jewish Chronicle
The Sphere
Sporting Times
The Stage
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The Strand
The Studio
Sunday at Home
Sunday Despatch
Sunday Pictorial
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Sunderland Daily Post
Swindon Advertiser
The Tatler
Thames Valley Times
The Times
The Times Law Reports
Tiverton Gazette
Torquay Times
Transvaal Critic

Transvaal Leader
Transvaal Mining Argus
Tunbridge Wells Advertiser
Uxbridge and West Drayton Gazette
War Pictorial
Waterford Chronicle
West London Observer
Western Daily Press
Western-super-Mare Gazette
Western Times
Wigton Advertiser
Windsor and Eton Express
Windsor Chronicle
Woman's Own
Worthing Gazette
Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury

Appendix One:

Photographs registered by Nicholls for Copyright at Stationers' Hall

Reference	Description	Date
COPY 1/426/94	'Photograph group of 21 members. The Reform Committee 1896'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. A British Subject. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. A British Subject. Form completed: 8 August 1896. Registration stamp: 11 August 1896. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/95	'Photograph of the Seat of Provisional Government at Johannesburg 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/96	'Photograph of waiting for the latest news during the political uprising in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/97	'Photograph of Africander gathering during political uprising in Johannesburg 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/98	'Photograph of Uitlanders parading during the political crisis in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/99	'Photograph of an Uitlander camp during the political crisis in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/100	'Photograph of pit caused by the dynamite explosion in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/101	'Photograph of 'off duty' in camp during the political crisis in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/102	'Photograph of a gold mine, Head gear and tipping trucks, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/103	'Photograph of a gold mine and miners in Johannesburg'. Archives, Kew	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/104	'Photograph of old style of gold mining in Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/105	'Photograph of the funeral of the victims of the dynamite disaster in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/106	'Photograph of gravediggers in Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/107	'Photograph of a Dutch Church in ruins after the dynamite explosion in Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/108	'Photograph of a timber shed in ruins after the dynamite explosion in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/109	'Photograph of a shattered truck caused by the dynamite explosion in Johannesburg, 1896'.	08/08/1896

COPY 1/426/110	'Photograph of women and children in cattle trucks, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/111	'Photograph of locusts on telegraph wires, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/112	'Photograph of South African locusts'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/113	'Photograph of group of Native Police, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/114	'Photograph of Exchange Corner, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/115	'Photograph of 'Between the Chains', Simmonds [Street], Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/116	'Photograph of Commissioner [Street], Johannesburg, looking east'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/117	'Photograph of Commissioner [Street], Johannesburg, looking west'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/118	'Photograph of Loveday Street, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/119	'Photograph of Rissik Street, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/120	'Photograph of the Morning Market, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/121	'Photograph of the Mutual Building, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/122	'Photograph of the Hospital, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/123	'Photograph of the Law Courts, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/124	'Photograph of Pritchard Street, Johannesburg in 1889'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/125	'Photograph of centre of Pritchard Street, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/126	'Photograph of Pritchard Street, Johannesburg in 1896'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/127	'Photograph of the Wanderers' Club grounds, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/128	'Photograph of banks of the Crocodile River, Mulders Drift, [South] Africa'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/129	'Photograph of Mulders Drift, [South] Africa'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/130	'Photograph of the Crocodile River at Kroomdraai'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/131	'Photograph of the Volkstraad, Pretoria'.	08/08/1896

COPY 1/426/132	'Photograph of the waterfall [near] Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/133	'Photograph of the Post Office and National [Bank], Pretoria'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/134	'Photograph of the Wonderboom, Pretoria'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/135	'Photograph of a wealthy Boer'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/136	'Photograph of an armed Boer'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/137	'Photograph of a Boer family, trekking'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/138	'Photograph of a Jinricksha'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/139	'Photograph of a gold mine sorting floor at Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/140	'Photograph of a cyanide extractor house, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/141	'Photograph of cyanide vats on New Primrose Mine, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/426/142	'Photograph of Native mine boys, Johannesburg'.	08/08/1896
COPY 1/427/161	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of Lord Rosmead'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard... Photograph of Cape Verde at sunrise'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard... 'Photograph of Lord Rosmead'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. Form completed: 19 September 1896. Registration stamp: 15 October 1896. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/162	'Photograph of the Potato Race'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/163	'Photograph of waiting for the Governor at Cape Town docks'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/164	'Photograph of splash made by diver at Madeira'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/165	'Photograph of a group of 8 persons on the Norman, including Lord Rosmead'.	19/09/1896

COPY 1/427/166	'Photograph of guard of honour saluting the Governor landing a Cape Town'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/167	'Photograph of passengers returning to the ship at Madeira'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/168	'Photograph of Portuguese divers at Madeira'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/169	'Photograph of friends to meet us at Cape Town'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/170	'Photograph of passengers landing at Cape Town'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/171	'Photograph of officers taking the ship's position at midday'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/172	'Photograph of taking on fruit at Madeira'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/173	'Photograph of Table Mountain in sight'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/174	'Photograph of Church Parade on the 'Norman'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/175	'Photograph of officers showing young ladies through sextant on the 'Norman'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/176	'Photograph of a game at Bull'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/177	'Photograph of lady's potato race'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/427/178	'Photograph of Lord Rosmead'.	19/09/1896
COPY 1/444/97	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of nursing staff of SS Trojan'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 40... 'Photograph of nursing staff of SS Trojan'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 40 Friar Street, Reading. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 40 Friar Street, Reading. Form completed: 11 January 1900. Registration stamp: 1900 January 11. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/444/97) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/444. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/98	'Photograph of landing war material at East London'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/99	'Photograph, Sick ward, SS Trojan, ports on left'.	11/01/1900
COPY	'Photograph of sick ward, SS Trojan, ports on right'.	11/01/1900

1/444/100		
COPY 1/444/101	'Photograph, Boer prisoners boarding steamer, blind man with friends'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/102	'Photograph, sailors taking wounded Boer on steamer'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/103	'Photograph, Boer prisoners looking from railway carriage window'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/104	'Photograph, 'Avondale Castle' with refugees at Durban (left side of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/105	'Photograph, Church Parade, Estcourt.'	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/106	'Photograph, camp at Estcourt (right side of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/107	'Photograph, camp at Ladysmith (left of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/108	'Photograph, entraining horses, Imperial Light Horse'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/109	'Photograph, Refugee camp at Durban (curious names on tents)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/110	'Photograph, suspected Boer spies and Estcourt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/111	'Photograph: coolies loading rails at Estcourt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/112	'Photograph: view of Hills round Ladysmith (left hand side of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/113	'Photograph: Umbulwana Hill, Ladysmith'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/114	'Photograph: Devonshires firing over a ridge at Ladysmith'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/115	'Photograph: drumhead service at Estcourt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/116	'Photograph: soldiers boarding the armoured train'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/117	'Photograph: Dublins boarding the armoured train at Estcourt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/118	'Photograph: armoured train about to start from Estcourt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/119	'Photograph: Pepworth's Hill nr Ladysmith (Boer gun being fired)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/120	'Photograph: Devonshires taking cover during Maxim fire'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/121	'Photograph: panorama of hills at Ladysmith (right side of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/122	'Photograph: wounded man being taken from ambulance'.	11/01/1900

COPY 1/444/123	'Photograph: Maxim at work, Ladysmith'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/124	'Photograph: soldiers taking range'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/125	'Photograph: Picking up wounded on battlefield at Ladysmith'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/126	'Photograph: troops coming up Ladysmith main street after battle on October 31st'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/127	'Photograph: military observation balloon'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/128	Photograph: Ladysmith, taken with back to Papworth's Hill.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/129	'Photograph: men asleep on bank and horses grazing ILH'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/130	'Photograph: a group of colonial Dutch prisoners'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/131	'Photograph: wounded artilleryman on ammunition carriage'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/132	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen, cooking'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/133	'Photograph: Colonel J J Scott Chisholm on pony'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/134	'Photograph: Ladysmith Town Hall'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/135	'Photograph: artillery returning into Ladysmith from battle, Oct 30th'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/136	'Photograph: men of HMS Powerful in Ladysmith'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/137	'Photograph: Boers leaving Johannesburg for the front'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/138	'Photograph: Kaffir prisoners, Estcourt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/139	'Photograph: putting rails on truck to attach to armoured train'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/140	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen watering horses'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/141	'Photograph: burghers assembling for Commando service'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/142	'Photograph: a truckload of Uitlanders'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/143	'Photograph: burghers entraining at Johannesburg'.	11/01/1900
COPY	'Photograph: a crowd of Germans and Hollanders at	11/01/1900

1/444/144	Johannesburg'.	
COPY 1/444/145	'Photograph: a group of burghers'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/146	'Photograph: an assembled crowd at Johannesburg station'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/147	'Photograph: the Dundee camp'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/148	'Photograph: sharpening swords at Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/149	'Photograph: Dublin Fusiliers returning from outpost duty to Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/150	'Photograph: patrol of 18th Hussars leaving Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/151	'Photograph: smithy in Dundee camp'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/152	'Photograph: horses saddled with heavy rations, Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/153	'Photograph: artillerymen watering horses at Dundee No 1'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/154	'Photograph: artillerymen watering horses at Dundee No 2'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/155	'Photograph: soldiers dulling sheaths at Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/156	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen preparing to strike camp'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/157	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen coming up road'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/158	'Photograph: Captain Orr Imperial Light Horse, profile on horse'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/159	'Photograph: pushing horse into railway train'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/160	'Photograph: officers entertaining ladies at Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/161	'Photograph: artillery manoeuvring at Dundee'. Kew	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/162	'Photograph: Dundee camp (outside right of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/163	'Photograph: camp at Dundee (left side, outside of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/164	'Photograph: a trucktrain loaded with Uitlanders, Johannesburg'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/165	'Photograph: soldiers taking in presents to Boer prisoners, Capetown'.	11/01/1900

COPY 1/444/166	'Photograph: prison guard (sentries) at Capetown, loading up'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/167	'Photograph: the military hospital prison, Capetown'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/168	'Photograph: Mealtime with the Boer Prisoners, Capetown'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/169	'Photograph: the prison guard at Capetown'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/170	'Photograph: Boer prisoners after their tea'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/171	'Photograph: Boer prisoners, Capetown'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/172	'Photograph: Boer prisoners carrying their tea'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/173	'Photograph: Dundee camp (centre right of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/174	'Photograph: the camp at Dundee, (left hand centre side of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/175	'Photograph: Heliographing party'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/176	'Photograph: 18th Hussars at Dundee (part of the captured squad)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/177	'Photograph: camp stores, Dundee'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/178	'Photograph: Boer prisoners playing football at Capetown'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/179	'Photograph: group of three mounted men Imperial Light Horse'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/180	'Photograph: soldiers being shaved in tent ILH'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/181	'Photograph: a train of trucks loaded with Uitlanders, Kroonstadt'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/182	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horse arriving at railway'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/183	'Photograph: Sergeant Major Cuthbert on horseback ILH'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/184	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horse parading on Fox Hill, Maritzburg'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/185	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen mounted (left side of panorama)'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/186	'Photograph: group of twenty Imperial Light Horse officers'.	11/01/1900
COPY	'Photograph: Imperial Light horse leaving Maritzburg'.	11/01/1900

1/444/187		
COPY 1/444/188	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen loading up wagons'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/189	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen cleaning horses'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/190	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horse preparing to leave camp'.	11/01/1900
COPY 1/444/191	'Photograph: Imperial Light Horsemen rolling up tents'.	11/01/1900
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COPY 1/446/245	'Photograph of a Boer & his son ready for the front, both mounted & carrying rifles, with wagon in background'.	25/05/1900

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COPY 1/446/250	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... Photograph of a young Boer testing his rifle standing with his back to wagon, another... Photograph of a young Boer testing his rifle standing with his back to wagon, another Boer with bandolier standing alongside him and a Kaffir in a stooping posture stirring a bowl'. No photograph annexed. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 40 Friar Street, Reading. Copyright author of work: Robert John Welch, 49 Lonsdale Street, Belfast. Form completed: 25 May 1900. Registration stamp: 1900 May 25. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/446/250) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/446. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	25/05/1900
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COPY 1/447/602	'Photograph Group of Graves in Ladysmith Cemetery 369'.	25/09/1900
COPY 1/448/36	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of train of details'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio,... 'Photograph of train of details'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard	04/10/1900

	Street, Johannesburg. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. Form completed: 4 October 1900. Registration stamp: 1900 October 4. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/448/36) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/448. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	
COPY 1/448/37	'Photograph, military man and Kaffir woman'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/38	'Photograph, ricksha wheel ambulance carriage'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/39	'Photograph, getting 12 pounder over rough ground. Muzzle of gun well up'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/40	'Photograph, crowd waiting for band on the Market Square, Johannesburg'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/41	'Photograph, transport train with 47 in fore truck'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/42	'Photograph, monument of the Imperial Light Horse'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/43	'Photograph, getting 12 pounder over rough ground. Muzzle down'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/44	'Photograph, Vlakfontein Station as a block house'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/45	'Photograph, Paardekop with garrison gun on left'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/46	'Photograph of Lieutenant Roberts grave (full view)'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/47	'Photograph, Imperial Light Horse leaving Maritzburg'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/48	'Photograph, Imperial Light Horsemen coming up road'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/49	'Photograph, Imperial Light Horse in parade ground'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/50	'Photograph, troop of Imperial Light Horsemen coming up road'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/51	'Photograph, entraining horses, Imperial Light Horse'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/52	'Photograph, Imperial Light Horsemen, mounted left side, panorama'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/53	'Photograph, Imperial Light Horse, mounted (right side of panorama)'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/54	'Photograph, Imperial Light Horse Officers No. 250'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/55	'Photograph Captain C Mullins, Imperial Light Horse in forage cap'.	04/10/1900

COPY 1/448/56	'Photograph Captain Knapp, Imperial Light Horse'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/57	'Photograph Captain C Mullins, Imperial Light Horse, in helmet'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/58	'Photograph, 'Avondale Castle' with refugees at Durban. (Looking from bow to stern)'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/59	'Photograph, Boer prisoners boarding 'Patiala'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/60	'Photograph, troops on landing stage, East London'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/61	'Photograph, troops landing at East London. Moved figure on gangway'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/62	'Photograph, a group of burghers, Johannesburg'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/63	'Photograph, H A Nicholls BMI'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/64	'Photograph, serving out tobacco, Dundee'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/65	'Photograph, drunken soldier'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/66	'Photograph, sharpening swords at Dundee'. Archives, Kew	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/67	'Photograph, camp kitchen, Dundee'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/68	'Photograph, camp saddler, Dundee'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/448/69	'Photograph, guns of 'Terrible' on road to Ladysmith'.	04/10/1900
COPY 1/449/257	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of the fleet at Spithead mourning the Queens funeral'. Copyright owner of work: Horace... 'Photograph of the fleet at Spithead mourning the Queens funeral'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 40 Friar Street, Reading. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 40 Friar Street, Reading. Form completed: 12 February 1901. Registration stamp: 1901 February 14. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/449/257) is contained within Box Number 2 of COPY 1/449. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	12/02/1901
COPY 1/449/258	'Photograph of raising three cheers for the King during the proclamation ceremony at Windsor'.	12/02/1901
COPY	'Photograph of reading the proclamation of the King at	12/02/1901

1/449/259	Windsor'.	
COPY 1/449/260	'Photograph of Queen Victoria's statue at Windsor on the day her funeral'.	12/02/1901
COPY 1/449/261	Photograph of sailors drawing coffin through Windsor - Queen Victoria's funeral, showing backs of mourners....	12/02/1901
COPY 1/449/262	'Photograph of Queens Victoria's funeral passing through Windsor (coffin in centre of view)'.	12/02/1901
COPY 1/449/263	'Photograph of sailors drawing Queen Victoria's coffin through Windsor (all the sailors showing)'.	14/02/1901
COPY 1/449/264	'Photograph of the proclamation of the King at Eton, (Eton boys on the bridge)'.	14/02/1901
COPY 1/449/289	'Photograph of the King at Windsor singing the national anthem, showing crowd around the Queen's statue at foot of castle hill'.	12/02/1901
COPY 1/449/574	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph, departure of HMS Ophir. 'Goodbye!'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 11 Jesse... 'Photograph, departure of HMS Ophir. 'Goodbye!'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 11 Jesse Terrace, Reading. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 11 Jesse Terrace, Reading. Form completed: 26 March 1901. Registration stamp: 1901 March 27. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/449/574) is contained within Box Number 3 of COPY 1/449. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	26/03/1901
COPY 1/454/479	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of General Ian Hamilton without cap'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The... 'Photograph of General Ian Hamilton without cap'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Dock Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Dock Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. Form completed: 14 February 1901. Registration stamp: 1902 March 17. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/454/479) is contained within Box Number 3 of COPY 1/454. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	14/02/1901
COPY 1/454/480	'Photograph of General Ian Hamilton wearing cap':.	14/02/1901
COPY 1/456/47	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each...	30/06/1902

	'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, view of Randzaal showing half clock'. Copyright owner of work:... 'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, view of Randzaal showing half clock'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. Form completed: 30 June 1902. Registration stamp: 1902 July 7. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/456/47) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/456. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	
COPY 1/456/48	'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, cheering the King'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/49	'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, centre section, triple panorama'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/50	'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, right section, triple panorama'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/51	'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, left section, triple panorama'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/52	'Photograph of centre section, triple panorama of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/53	'Photograph of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria, right section, triple panorama'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/54	'Photograph of left section, triple panorama of peace thanksgiving, Pretoria'.	13/06/1902
COPY 1/456/187	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph march past of Imperial Light Horse in Johannesburg'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter... 'Photograph march past of Imperial Light Horse in Johannesburg'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, The Goch Studio, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. Form completed: 25 June 1902. Registration stamp: 1902 July 21. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/456/187) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/456. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/188	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener and staff at Johannesburg, (Hamilton moved)'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/189	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener and Ian Hamilton at Johannesburg, (Kitchener ¾ face)'.	25/06/1902
COPY	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener and staff at	25/06/1902

1/456/190	Johannesburg, (Colonels Birdwood and Birkbeck both faces showing)'. 'Photograph of Lord Kitchener on horse, profile'.	
COPY 1/456/191	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener on horse, profile'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/192	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener and Ian Hamilton at Johannesburg, (Kitchener's hand moved)'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/193	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener arriving in Johannesburg to see march past of Imperial Light Horse after the war'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/194	'Photograph of Lord Kitchener and staff at Johannesburg, (showing dog)'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/195	'Photograph march past of Imperial Light Horse in Johannesburg, (front out of focus)'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/196	'Photograph of 2nd Imperial Light Horse on foot, left section of panorama'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/456/197	'Photograph of 2nd Imperial Light Horse on foot, right section of panorama'.	25/06/1902
COPY 1/475/22	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of lunch time among the coaches at Ascot'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter... 'Photograph of lunch time among the coaches at Ascot'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Form completed: 30 June 1904. Registration stamp: 1904 July 1. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/475/22) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/475. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	30/06/1904
COPY 1/475/23	'Photograph (vertical) of Boulter's Lock, Maidenhead, with gondola'.	01/07/1904
COPY 1/475/24	'Photograph of Lock Cut on Cliveden side of lock'.	02/07/1904
COPY 1/475/25	'Photograph (horizontal) of Boulter's Lock, Maidenhead, with gondola'.	03/07/1904
COPY 1/501/366	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationer's Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... "Photograph of general view of Eton." Copyright owner and author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls,... "Photograph of general view of Eton." Copyright owner and author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Form Completed 24 September 1906. Registration stamp: 25 September 1906. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	24/09/1906
COPY	Photograph of cows in Pool	24/09/1906

1/501/367		
COPY 1/501/368	Photograph of sheep coming through dusty land.	24/09/1906
COPY 1/519/263	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph. Sussex Cottage, Fittleworth'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing... 'Photograph. Sussex Cottage, Fittleworth'. Copyright owner of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Form completed: 22 March 1908. Registration stamp: 1908 March 24. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/519/263) is contained within Box Number 2 of COPY 1/519. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	22/03/1908
COPY 1/533/30	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph full face of a bull's head & shoulders'. Copyright owner of work: Bovril Limited,... 'Photograph full face of a bull's head & shoulders'. Copyright owner of work: Bovril Limited, 152 Old Street, London. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing, London. Name of parties to agreement: Horace Walter Nicholls, Bovril Limited. Date of agreement: 30th April 1909. Form completed: 3 May 1909. Registration stamp: 1909 May 4. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/533/30) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/533. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	03/05/1909
COPY 1/542/222	Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph representing boy head and shoulders in circle drinking from cup'. Copyright owner of work:... 'Photograph representing boy head and shoulders in circle drinking from cup'. Copyright owner of work: S H Benson Limited, Kingsway Hall, London. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amhurst Avenue, Ealing. Name of parties to agreement: Horace Walter Nicholls, and S H Benson Limited. Date of agreement: 25 February 1910. Form completed: 28 February 1910. Registration stamp: 1910 February 28. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/542/222) is contained within Box Number 1 of COPY 1/542. Held by: The National Archives, Kew	28/02/1910

<p>COPY 1/545/67</p>	<p>Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of snow scene with man in distance with bundle of faggots on his shoulder,... 'Photograph of snow scene with man in distance with bundle of faggots on his shoulder, trees in background'. Copyright owner of work: S H Benson Limited, Kingsway Hall, London. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Name of parties to agreement: Horace Walter Nicholls, and S H Benson Limited. Date of agreement: 22 January 1910. Form completed: 10 May 1910. Registration stamp: 1910 May 11. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/545/67) is contained within Box Number 3 of COPY 1/545. Held by: The National Archives, Kew</p>	<p>10/05/1910</p>
<p>COPY 1/545/100</p>	<p>Copyright Office: Entry Forms, etc. Photographs registered at the Stationers' Company. Bundle of forms applying for registration for copyright. Each... 'Photograph of snow scene with man in distance, with faggots on his shoulders'. Copyright owner... 'Photograph of snow scene with man in distance, with faggots on his shoulders'. Copyright owner of work: Bovril Limited, 152 Old Street, London. Copyright author of work: Horace Walter Nicholls, 9 Amherst Avenue, Ealing. Name of parties to agreement: S H Benson Limited, and Bovril Limited. Date of agreement: 11th May 1910. Form completed: 17 May 1910. Registration stamp: 1910 May 17. This entry form and photograph (COPY 1/545/100) is contained within Box Number 3 of COPY 1/545. Held by: The National Archives, Kew</p>	<p>17/05/1910</p>

Appendix Two:

Chronology of Nicholls' photographic assignments for the Department of Information and Ministry of Information, August 1917- December 1918.

Date	Subject	IWM Negative Nos.
15 August 1917	American troops marching to Buckingham Palace.	Q29997-Q30005. Photographed from the balcony of 8 Buckingham Gate.
21 August 1917	National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell.	Q30009-Q30058. Published in 'The War Pictorial' December 1917.
Before 8 September 1917	Hounslow Recruiting Office.	Q30059-Q30076. Published in 'From Desk to Trench'.
Before 8 September 1917	British Newspaper editors.	Q30077-Q30091. Request from the British Pictorial Service in America.
Before 25 September 1917	Portuguese Expeditionary Force, Hazeley Down Camp, Winchester.	Q30092-Q30103. Q30098 Published on 25 September in 'The Leeds Mercury' -'L.N.A.' and 'Official Photograph'. Also 'The Illustrated War News', 3 October and 'The War Pictorial', November 1917. Q30101 also printed as a postcard.
Before 25 September 1917	Avington Camp, Winchester.	Q30104-Q30115. Taken at the same time as PEF. Q30112 and Q30113A published in 'The Sphere',

		13 October – ‘By courtesy of Department of Information’.Q30112 and Q30114 published in ‘The Illustrated War News’, 3 October 1917 – ‘Official Photograph’.
Before 3 October 1917	Department of Information staff.	Q30116-Q30121. NB – Q30118 – T.O.Willson.
Before 3 October 1917	Coventry Ordnance Works.	Q30122-Q30155. Published in ‘The War Pictorial’, December 1917.
Before 16 October 1917	Committee of the National War Museum.	Q30156-Q30157.
Between 16 October and 17 November 1917	National War Museum collection.	Q30158-Q30202.
Between 19 October and 2 November 1917	Men in uniform. Buckingham Palace Mews.	Q30203-Q30211.
2 November 1917	Cookery demonstration at The Ministry of Food, Grosvenor House.	Q30234-Q30237. Published in ‘The War Pictorial’, January 1918 (retouched). Patriotic Christmas pudding. See ‘The Daily Mirror’, 3 November 1917.
Between 3 November and 17 November 1917	Gibbons Road School, Willesden.	Q30238-Q30245. Published in ‘The War Pictorial’, January 1918.
Between 7 November and 17 November 1917	Chesterfield House.	Q30246-Q30255. US diplomat, Colonel House was in Britain between 7-22 November.
17 November 1917	Reception for the Greek PM at the Grafton Gallery.	Q30256-Q30258.
Between 18 November and 7 December 1917	Oxford, then Cambridge.	Q30259-Q30327. Published in ‘The War Pictorial’, February 1918.
Between 26 November and 6 December 1917	War Bonds appeal in Trafalgar Square.	Q30328-Q30334.
10 -12 December 1917	Women in uniform.	Q30335-Q30395.
Between 13 December 1917 and 7 January 1918	‘Fourteen Days’ Leave’.	Q30400-Q30408. Christmas leave?
January-February 1918	Sea Scouts.	Q19961-Q19995. Published in ‘The War

		Pictorial', March 1918.
After 7 January 1918	Lord and Lady Reading.	Q30411-Q30414. Lord Reading was appointed Ambassador to America on 7 January.
After 14 January 1918	Bombardment of Great Yarmouth.	Q30415-Q30426. Great Yarmouth was shelled on the night of 14-15 January.
After 14 January 1918	Men in uniform.	Q30427-Q30447.
Between 15 January and 4 February 1918	'Repairing War's Ravages' – Derwent Wood's prosthetic masks.	Q30449-Q30460. Published in 'The War Pictorial', April 1918. Also published in the US – 'Popular Science Monthly', June 1918 – credited to 'Underwood & Underwood'.
Before 4 February 1918	Exhibits at The Imperial War Exhibition held The Royal Academy.	Q30461-Q30464
Between 4 February and 24 February 1918	The Moot, Wellington House.	Q30476-Q30477.
Between 4 February and 24 February 1918	New Spanish Club, London.	Q30478-Q30488
Between 4 February and 24 February 1918	Propaganda section at the Foreign Office.	Q30491-Q30493. The man seated at the desk is P.A. (Percy) Koppell, responsible for Spain, Portugal and South America.
Between 4 February and 24 February 1918	The Imperial War Exhibition at The Royal Academy.	Q30494-Q30500. The exhibition ran from 7 January until 24 February.
Before 12 March 1918	Troops arriving at Victoria Station on leave.	Q30501-Q30518.
February 1918	The King's ration card.	Q30519-Q30521. Meat rationing was introduced in Britain in February 1918.
Early March 1918?	Chailey, East Sussex.	Q30522 etc. Published in 'The War Pictorial', May 1918. NB - Mixed with negatives from Gretna Green.

Before 22 March 1918	Gretna Green munitions factory.	Q30560 etc. Published in 'The War Pictorial', June 1918.
Between 11 March and 22 March 1918	British Industries Fair, London Docks.	Q30589-Q30593. The Fair was held between 11 and 22 March.
Between 11 March and 3 April 1918.	Boy Scouts.	Q30594-Q30608. Photographed in St Albans. Published in 'The War Pictorial', June 1918.
4 April 1918	Women in uniform.	Q30609-Q30627. Taken in the yard of 9 Queen Anne's Gate.
11 April 1918	Nicholls transferred from Pictorial Section (under Nicholson) to Photographic Section, M of I (under Capt. Bertram Lima)	
Between 4 April and 4 May 1918	Newcastle.	Q30629-Q30663 and Q20027-Q20102. Q20050 published in 'The Daily Mirror', 6 May.
Between 4 April and 4 May 1918	Bearsted, Kent.	Q30634-Q30643. Published in 'The War Pictorial', July 1918.
Around 15 April 1918	Shipbuilding, Glasgow.	Q19997-Q20026. Published in 'The War Pictorial', July 1918.
4 May 1918	Presentation of a mobile dental surgery to the French Red Cross.	Q30644-Q30648. Published in 'The War Pictorial', July 1918.
6 May 1918	Opening of war photography exhibition at The People's Palace.	Q30649-Q30651.
Between 10 May and 9 June 1918	Women's Land Army and Forestry Corps.	Q30652-Q30724. Q106565 published in 'The War Pictorial', October 1918.
10 June 1918	Design for badge – M of I Photographic Section.	Q30725-Q30726
10 June 1918	Colonial Premiers visit the Ministry of Information.	Q30727-Q30728.
11 June 1918	Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet in Downing Street.	Q30729-Q30742.

15 June 1918	Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolour, Prince's Gallery, Piccadilly.	Q30743-Q30745. The gallery was the venue for an exhibition of naval photography which opened in July.
16 June 1918	Visit of William Massey, New Zealand PM, to Oatlands Park Hospital, Walton.	Q30746-Q30756. NB Oatlands NOT Oaklands. Massey's son was a patient at the hospital.
19 June 1918	Sir Robert Borden inspecting Black Rod.	Q30763-Q30767. Q30763 published in 'The Daily Mirror', 22 June – 'Official'.
21 June 1918	Woman chimney sweep.	Q30757-Q30762.
21 June 1918	Sir Robert Borden, Canadian PM, with replica Black Rod.	Q30793-Q30796.
21 June 1918	Royal visit to Clothing Department, Pimlico.	Q30768-Q30792.
25 June 1918	Sunderland – Launch of standard ship.	Q20112-Q20123
27 June 1918	Entertainment at Jesmond Dene, Newcastle.	Negatives handed to 'Illustrated Chronicle', Newcastle.
28 June 1918	Furness Withy and Co shipbuilders, Haverton Hill, Middlesbrough.	Q20124-Q20145. Q20140 published in 'The Daily Mirror', 27 July.
Shortly before 11 July 1918	Preparations for naval photography exhibition at the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours.	Q20146-Q20153. The exhibition opened on 11 July.
Between 1 July and 14 July 1918	Women workers.	Q30797-Q30876
Between 15 July and 26 July 1918	Mike Rimington's horse training establishment, Underdale Hall, near Shrewsbury.	Q30912-Q30933
Between 15 July and 13 August 1918	Women flax workers at Yeovil.	Q30877-Q30911
Between 27 July and 13 August 1918	Women workers.	Q30934-Q30951. Holme Mill, Biggleswade.
14 August 1918	Fire at Prince's Gallery, Piccadilly.	Q30952-Q30953. See 'The Daily Mirror', 15 August 1918, p.2.
Between 15 August and 20 September 1918	Women workers.	Q30954-Q31077

20 September 1918	India Day.	Q31078-Q31081
Between 20 September and 8 October 1918	Women police and ambulance drivers in London.	Q31082-Q31116
8 October 1918	Day before the opening of the M of I Photograph Bureau in Coventry Street.	Q31117-Q31119 Q31117 published in 'The Daily Mirror', 9 October, - credited to 'Daily Mirror'.
Between 9 October and 10 November 1918	Women workers, Steyne School and Cherkley Court.	Q31120-Q31189
11 November 1918	Armistice service in Winchester Cathedral.	Q31190-Q31233
Between 12 November and 18 December 1918	Captured guns on The Mall and American Cemetery, Winchester.	Q31243-Q31252
16 December 1918	Nicholls interviewed by Charles ffoulkes for position at IWM.	IWM file.
Before 18 December 1918	Charles ffoulkes.	Q31267-Q31270
19 December 1918	Gen Haig's return to London.	Q31271-Q31272
24 December 1918	Nicholls writes to ffoulkes accepting the offer of a position at IWM.	

Appendix Three:

Nicholls' photographs reproduced in *War Pictorial*

Issue	Page No.	IWM Neg	Subject	Notes
November 1917	24	Q30093, Q30095, Q30098, Q30099	The Portuguese Expeditionary Corps in Britain	
December 1917	Cover	Q30040	National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell	Illustration based on Nicholls' photographs
December 1917	Frontispiece	Q30029	National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell	'Eighteen and Eighty"
December 1917	7-11	Q30012, Q30014, Q30015, Q30023, Q30028, Q30033, Q30038, Q30040,	National Shell Filling Factory, Chilwell	Extensive cropping

		Q30042, Q30049, Q30050,		
December 1917	12-13	Q30124, Q30137, Q30150, Q30152, Q30153, Q30154	Coventry Ordnance Factory	Compare Q30124 and Q30129 – sequence.
January 1918	3	Q30236	Cooking a patriotic Christmas dinner	Retouched to remove background
January 1918	10	Q20329, Q30242	School in Willesden	
February 1918	8-11	Q30259, Q30261, Q30263, Q30265, Q30267, Q30269, Q30272, Q30276, Q30278, Q30280, Q30281, Q30282, Q30285, Q30287, Q30288	Oxford University	
February 1918	14-17	Q30296, Q30298, Q30302, Q30310, Q30315, Q30317, Q30319, Q30324, Q30326	Cambridge University	
March 1918	Frontispiece	Q19966	Sea Scouts	
March 1918	8-11	Q19962, Q19963, Q19965, Q19970, Q19971, Q19973, Q19975, Q19977,	Sea Scouts	

		Q19978, Q19980, Q19981, Q19982, Q19983, Q19984, Q19988, Q19993		
April 1918	20-21	Q30449, Q30450, Q30451, Q30452, Q30453, Q30454, Q30455, Q30456, Q30457, Q30458, Q30459, Q30460	Francis Derwent Wood – prosthetic masks	
May 1918	22-23	Q30536, Q30538, Q30542, Q30544, Q30546, Q30548, Q30550, Q30556	Kitchener Heritage Home, Chailey	
June 1918	Cover		Boy Scout bugler	Colour illustration based on Q30607
June 1918	12-13	Q30531, Q30581, Q30582, Q30549, Q30561, Q30562, Q30566, Q30563, Q30565, Q30573, Q30572, Q30568	Gretna Green munitions township	
June 1918	.20-21	Q30594, Q30595, Q30596,	Boy Scouts	Taken in St Albans. George

		Q30597, Q30598, Q30600, Q30601, Q30603, Q30605, Q30606, Q30607		Foxlee?
July 1918	11	Q30646, Q30647, Q30648	Dental ambulance	Taken on 4 May
July 1918	20-21	Q20020, Q20021	Harland and Wolff, Glasgow	
July 1918	27	Q30635, Q30636, Q30637, Q30638, Q30640, Q30641	Bearsted, Kent	
October 1918	5	Q106565?	Women Forestry Workers	Taken in June?

Appendix Four:

Magazine Illustrations 1903 – 1937

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Badminton Magazine	09/1910	299-315	The Tale of a Salmon.	Horace W. Nicholls	Seventeen full-page photos. Narrative sequence
Badminton Magazine	12/1910	638-647	Winter Sport: Bobsleighting. A Series of photographs by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Ten full-page photos. Also - cover illustration.
Badminton Magazine	01/1911	20-23	Winter Sport: Skiers, Skilled and	Horace W.	Four full-page photos.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
			Otherwise. A Series of photographs by Horace W. Nicholls	Nicholls	
Badminton Magazine	06/1911	618-627	Derby Day: Some Contrasts	Horace W. Nicholls	Ten full-page photos.
Badminton Magazine	12/1911	Unpaginated	Woman and Winter Sport. A Series of photographs by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Six full-page photos.
Badminton Magazine	07/1912	12-22	Henley. A Series of photographs by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Eleven full-page photos and nine small insets.
Badminton Magazine	07/1912	50	On the Sands	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Badminton Magazine	07/1912	53	Refreshing	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Badminton Magazine	07/1912	55	In the Breakers	Horace W. Nicholls	Small
Badminton Magazine	07/1912	56	Waiting for the Diving Boat	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Badminton Magazine	08/1912	129-139	Cowes. A Series of photographs by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Eleven full-page photos and four small insets.
Badminton Magazine	05/1913	540-548	The River Season. A Series of photographs by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Nine full-page photos.
The Bystander	03/06/1908	481	Spectators as a Spectacle. A Typical View of the Stands on Derby Day	H.W. Nicolls (sic)	Full page.
The	03/06/190	505	A Study of	H.W.	Full page.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Bystander	8		Rhododendrons and Early Foliage	Nicholls	
The Bystander	17/06/1908	597	A Rendezvous for Ascot	H.W. Nicholls	Full page – Taplow Court
The Bystander	17/06/1908	610-611	On the Lawns at Sunny Ascot	H.W. Nicholls	Double page spread
The Bystander	24/06/1908	664-665	The Sundays Next Before and Next After Ascot	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Three photos. Boulter's Lock.
The Bystander	01/07/1908	31	Sunshine and Shade in Sussex	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Near Ashington (June)
The Bystander	12/08/1908	345	Seaside Joys – Four of Them. A Little Idyll of the Summer Shore.	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	19/08.1908	411	Joie de Vivre	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	26/08/1908	451	Streatley Mill on the Thames	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	02/09/1908	503	A September Study: Garnering the Goodly Fruits of the Earth	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
The Bystander	09/09/1908	553	A Merry Bathing Party at Cliftonville	Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	23/09/1908	657	'Mid Rock and Foam	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Note different credit in same issue.
The Bystander	23/09/1908	661	In a Sussex Lane	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. 'a Photographic Study'
The Bystander	11/11/1908	286	Trees that Strike Terror	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos. Burnham

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					Beeches.
The Bystander	16/12/1908	525	Dignity Looks on Jollity: Merry Etonians Outside the Memorial Hall Recently Opened by the King	Nicholls	Three-quarter page.
The Bystander	23/12/1908	567	My Christmas Present!	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. 'Photographic study by H.W.Nicholls'.
The Bystander	30/12/1908	633	The Flight to the South	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Mentone. 'A study'
The Bystander	13/01/1909	75	The Terrace at Monte Carlo: An Entirely New View	H.W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Bystander	13/01/1909	77	Society's fancy in Golf Links	H.W. Nicholls	Half page
The Bystander	13/01/1909	78-79	Fashion's Retreat from Winter: The Midday Scene on the Terrace at Monte Carlo	No credit?	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	10/02/1909	285	A Nymph, a Naiad of the Ice	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Chamonix. Mlle Simon.
The Bystander	10/02/1909	286-287	Out for a Day's Sport: A Toboggan Party Ready for Action at Chamonix	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	10/02/1909	288	In Full Career: A Remarkable Snapshot of a Ski-Jumper in Action	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The	21/04/190	141	Our Crumbling	H.W.	Full page.

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Bystander	9		Coasts: The Dunwich Church and Graveyard Slipping into the Sea	Nicholls	
The Bystander	26/05/1909	394-395	A Hundred Thousand Hats: Derby Day on Epsom Downs	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	09/06/1909	504	Where the Stream Traditionally 'Purls'	Nicholls	Full page. Cambridge. Note different credit in same issue.
The Bystander	09/06/1909	517	Wild Flowers of Youth: June Blooms on the Breakwater	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cowes?
The Bystander	16/06/1909	558-559	Pretty Clothes and Happy Crowds: An Ascot Panorama	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread
The Bystander	16/06/1909	563	Ascot Sunday in Boulter's Lock	Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	14/07/1909	65	The Winning Post	Nicholls	Half page. Henley.
The Bystander	28/07/1909	163	Prime Movers at Goodwood	Nicholls	Quarter page.
The Bystander	28/07/1909	186-187	Beauty Bathes in Sun and Splashes	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Composite?
The Bystander	28/07/1909	193	Sand-Elves: The Joy of a Scamper by the Sea	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	04/08/1909	237	Embracing Breezes: A Photographic Study at the Seaside	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	04/08/1909	238-239	The Swelling of the Voiceful Sea	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. 'A Fine Study'
The	04/08/1909	244	Our Restful River:	H.W.	Full page. Near

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Bystander	9		Dolce Far Niente on the Lazy Thames	Nicholls	Bourne End.
The Bystander	11/08/1909	276-277	The 'Twelfth' by Moor and Stream	Nicholls	Four photos on double-page spread.
The Bystander	11/08/1909	287	The Start in the First Race of Cowes Week.	H.W. Nicholls	Three-quarter page.
The Bystander	11/08/1909	288	On the Wings of the Wind	H.W. Nicholls	Two photos. Three-quarter page. Note – other photo by Sport 7 General
The Bystander	11/08/1909	289	The Marquess of Ormonde	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Cowes
The Bystander	25/08/1909	403	The Home of the Wild Duck: An Ayrshire Preserve	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	01/09/1909	453	Bathing Season Prospects	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of six photos.
The Bystander	01/09/1909	461	Mark! The Cry of the Moors	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos. Grouse shooting in Scotland.
The Bystander	06/10/1909	26-27	The Best of all Salmon Fishing: Autumn Sport in a Scottish River	Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	06/10/1909	33	Back for the Michaelmas Terms: Magdalen College, Oxford and Bridge of Sighs, Cambridge	Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Bystander	03/11/1909	226-227	A Two-page Picture of One Page in History: Ladysmith	Nicholls	Double-page spread. 'Ten years ago, today...'

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The Bystander	03/11/1909	228	Ladies of the Lake: A Dimpled Pool in Ambuscade of Greenery	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	05/01/1910	1	Tobogganing in England	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
The Bystander	12/01/1910	96	Beauty and the Beast: An Arboreal Contrast at Burnham Beeches	Horace Nicholls	Full page. Trees at Burnham Beeches.
The Bystander	19/01/1910	130-131	The Red Rocks of Mentone, Just Now the Gayest of Riviera Towns	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	02/02/1910	234-235	Sunshine, Smiles and Snow: A Trio of Charming Skaters at Chamonix	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	09/02/1910	284	Fair Competitors in this Year's Floral Battle at Nice	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
The Bystander	16/02/1910	349	In the Slips for the Final of the Waterloo Cup.	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	16/02/1910	350-351	The Waterloo Cup: The Crowd on the Withens and Some Well-known Personalities	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Four photos.
The Bystander	16/02/1910	352	A Coursing Grand Stand	H.W. Nicholls	Small. Waterloo Cup.
The Bystander	23/03/1910	598-599	The Close of Day: Cape Turbie from Cape Martin	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	20/04/1910	111	The Two Big Bens	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
The	27/04/1910	167	'K' on Horseback: A	Horace	Full page.

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Bystander	0		Rare Photograph of the Famous Field-Marshal	Nicholls	Composite photograph -see RPS 2003-5001_0002_2646 2
The Bystander	15/06/1910	547	Sir R Garton's 'Patrick' Clearing the Poles at the International Show	Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	29/06/1910	659	The Thames at Sonning	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	06/07/1910	33	Virgin's Bower. Otherwise Clematis, Gay Evidence of Summer	Horace Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	20/07/1910	127	Holiday-Makers Enjoying a Health-Giving Dip at a Popular Seaside Resort	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. NB – Described as a 'Composite photograph'
The Bystander	20/07/1910	129	The Shrimping Girl: A Lovely Actuality on Cromer Beach	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	27/07/1910	181	The Gondola on the River Thames	Photographic Study by H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	27/07/1910	182-183	Rivals of the Sea: Sailing Versus Motoring in the Solent	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	24/08/1910	369	A Sunny Morning in Princes Street, Edinburgh	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	24/08/1910	392	An Idyll of the Sun and Sand	H.W. Nicholls	Full page

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The Bystander	28/08/1910	395	Knitting in the Sun	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite?
The Bystander	21/09/1910	601	Father Time as an Expert Carver: The 'Culver Cow' on Bembridge Downs, I.O.W.	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
The Bystander	28/09/1910	645	A Deceptive Mirror Photograph Taken at Carisbrooke, I of W.	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	28/09/1910	650-651	Daybreak in the Bay of Biscay	Photographic Study by H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread
The Bystander	02/11/1910	234-235	Fishing in the Track of the Moon on the Zuider Zee	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	02/11/1910	252	'Longwood House' Napoleon's House at St Helena	Nicholls	One-third page.
The Bystander	11/01/1911	78-79	Nice from a Novel Aspect: Alluring View of the Beautiful Resort From Mount Boron	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread
The Bystander	01/02/1911	207	British Minister Marketing in Morocco	Horace W. Nicholls	'Photographed at Tangier last week specially for The Bystander by Horace W. Nicholls.'
The Bystander	01/02/1911	237	A Dutch Quayside Study of Topical Interest	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite?
The Bystander	08/02/1911	283	The Camera on Sunny Shores: 'Gib'. Tangier and	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photographs.

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			Algeciras		
The Bystander	08/02/1911	284-285	The Spanish Sentinel's Vigil Opposite the Rock of Gibraltar	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread
The Bystander	08/02/1911	286	The Hobble and the Harem Skirt Pass Morocco By	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	22/02/1911	395	A Photographic Study of a Child whom Mr. H. W. Nicholls had no difficulty in persuading to 'Look Pleasant'.	H.W. Nicholls	Full page
The Bystander	01/03/1911	417	Queen Carnival the First	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Nice Carnival.
The Bystander	01/03/1911	440-441	An Idyllic Setting for a Naval Battle of Flowers	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. VillefrancheHarbour.
The Bystander	08/03/1911	492-493	The Fun of the Carnival at its Height in the Place Massena, Nice	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread
The Bystander	12/04/1911	67	A Stroll in Scheveningen: a Pleasant Glimpse of Nationally-Clad Dutchwomen	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	12/04/1911	85	The Crown of White. A Wayside Cross after a Snowfall in Haute Savoie	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	10/05/1911	281	In Turbulent Morocco: MulaiHafid's Dusky	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.

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			Warriors		
The Bystander	10/05/1911	296	An English May Morning.	Horace W Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	28/06/1911	662	The Royal Children Watch their Parents' Progress	H.W. Nicholls	One-third page. 'Photographed exclusively for The Bystander by H.W.Nicholls.'
The Bystander	26/07/1911	191	The Bathing Photograph Season Herewith Declared Formally Open	Horace Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	09/08/1911	276	The Worthing Belles	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page. Outside Steyne School, Worthing.
The Bystander	09/08/1911	277	Wait and Smile! Morocco's Role in the Diplomatic Drama	Horace Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	09/08/1911	285	A Memory of Cowes Week	Horace Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
The Bystander	16/08/1911	336	Monte Carlo is in its Second Season in August	H.W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Bystander	23/08/1911	409	Salmon Fishing on the Braes of Doon	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	06/09/1911	493	Chines and Cherries Around Luccombe Bay	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	20/09/1911	588	Where Do We Come In?	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Tangier.
The Bystander	27/09/1911	657	Seaside Sweethearts in the Track of the Moon	Horace Nicholls	Full page. 'A Photographic Study at Southwold by Horace Nicholls'.

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The Bystander	18/10/1911	138	The Woman railway Worker – At Work	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Bystander	18/10/1911	141	Untidy Autumn's Loveliness: The Fall of the Leaf at Burnham Beeches	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	08/11/1911	305	Pride of East Anglia: The Stalwart Captain of the Southwold Lifeboat	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite?
The Bystander	29/11/1911	453	'They're Bonnie Fish and Halesome Farin.': Scottish Fisher-Girls Busily Employed on the East Coast	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
The Bystander	06/12/1911	565	The Footpath to the Church: A Wintry Landscape by H. W. Nicholls	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	20/12/1911	647	A Swiss Guide Blowing His Mountain Horn	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	20/12/1911	648-649	A Jump Over the Banks of a Luge Run at the Foot of Mont Blanc, Near Chamonix	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	20/12/1911	651	Madame de Mont Blanc	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	17/01/1912	130-131	Sunshine Stealers: Refugees from Colder Climes on the Promenade des Anglais, Nice	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Bystander	24/07/1912	182-183	After the Day's Work: A Photographic Study at Blythburgh,	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.

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			Suffolk, by Horace W. Nicholls		
The Bystander	14/08/1912	314	Making a Splash	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Collage of two photos. Sandown.
The Bystander	06/08/1913	310-311	Within Eight Miles of the Marble Arch: A Harvest Scene in the Vicinity of Ealing	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread
The Bystander	17/09/1913	599	'Sherlock' and 'Seymour' by the Seaside	H. W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
The Bystander	01/10/1919	33	The Fruit Picker	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Photographic Study by Horace W. Nicholls
The Bystander	22/12/1920	881	Joie de Vivre: Lugeing in the Beautiful Valley of Chamonix	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'. See RPS Neg No. 4568.
The Bystander	01/06/1921	518	A Morning Dip	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	08/06/1921	604	'O! Sweet and Gentle Thames': A Dip in the Weir Stream at Windsor	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Bystander	15/06/1921	661	The Charm of the River: Cookham Ferry	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Bystander	20/07/1921	141	An Unfrequented Bay Near The Needles, Isle of Wight	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite – Check woman's head.
The	31/08/192	451	Good-Bye! On the	Horace	Full page.

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Bystander	1		South Downs, near Salvington	W. Nicholls	
The Bystander	07/09/1921	489	Prawning: A Seaside Silhouette	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	21/09/1921	598	An Autumn Idyll: The Enthusiast	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	02/11/1921	256	'The Image of Eternity': On the Shores of the Mediterranean	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	16/11/1921	373	Monte Carlo from La Turbie	Horace W. Nicholls	One third page.
The Bystander	07/12/1921	557	As Happy as Sand Boys: At Cannes – The Working Side of the Coast of Pleasure	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	14/12/1921	627	'Ca VaDonc!' – ('Isn't it Ripping!')	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	18/01/1922	138	A Sports Party at Montroc Near Chamonix	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Bystander	08/02/1922	299	The Snow Slip: A He and 'Ski' Episode	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	15/02/1922	338	Revellers on the Place Massena	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos.
The Bystander	01/03/1922	495	Snow Babies	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	08/03/1922	552	Alleyways and Archways of Old Italy	Horace W.	Full page. Collage of four photos.

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				Nicholls	
The Bystander	12/04/1922	112	The Glory of the Springtime: Just England!	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	19/04/1922	185	In My Garden	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	17/05/1922	440	The Connoisseur	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Volendam
The Bystander	05/07/1922	21	Tangiers - the Town of Many Tongues	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of nine photos.
The Bystander	29/11/1922	606	Snowflakes: A Ski in Chamonix	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	01/12/1922	37	Trailing: The Road to Argentiere	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. The Bystander Annual.
The Bystander	20/12/1922	851	Skiers	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	01/12/1923	83	A Christmas 'Shoot' – Snow Variety	Horace W. Nicholls	One third page.
The Bystander	01/12/1923	81	The Snow Artist	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. The Bystander Annual.
The Bystander	11/06/1924	800	Where the Mistral Blows	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Bystander	30/12/1925	1004	Youth with Swift Feet	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	13/07/1927	81	Come unto these Yellow Sands	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	25/11/1927	35	All on a Winter's Morning	Horace W.	Full page, 'Photographed at

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				Nicholls	Chamonix by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Bystander	18/01/1928	133	Shadow and Sunlight	Horace W. Nicholls	Quarter page. Monte Carlo.
The Bystander	14/08/1929	369	The Trysting Place	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cliveden
The Bystander	21/08/1929	435	Where the Salmon Lurks	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Bystander	21/08/1929	436	The Shrimper	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
Country Life	10/10/1914	475-477	'An Admiral of the Fishing Fleet', 'A Smoke and a Yarn' and 'Weather-Worn Veterans'	H.W. Nicholls	Three photos illustrating article – 'The Mine Sweepers of the North Sea'.
Country Life	30/10/1915	573-576	'Receiving their Weekly Pay', 'Washing', 'Getting Ready for Dinner', 'Open-Air Quarters', 'Carpenters at Work', 'The Stables', 'Sighting', 'Cleaning Rifles' and 'A Sentry'	Horace W. Nicholls	Nine photos illustrating article – 'The Artist's Rifles as a Training School for Officers'.
Daily Graphic	15/01/1908	5	A Study of Contrast in Boulter's Lock	W. H. Nicholls, Ealing (sic)	Small
Daily Graphic	02/07/1908	17	Henley in Sunshine	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Collage of three photos.
Daily Mirror	31/03/1906	9	The Crisis in South Africa	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page. Three small photos.

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Daily Mirror	08/06/1908	9	Vanderbilt Luncheon Party at Epsom	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
Daily Mirror	18/11/1908	8-9	Eton Memorial Hall	H.W.Nicholls	Half page.
Daily Mirror	05/08/1913	3	Splashing in the Sea at Sandown, Isle of Wight	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'Bank Holiday Fun' – when was it taken?
Daily Mirror	27/10/1913	11	Miss Gladys Cooper's Sou'wester	Horace W. Nicholls	Two thirds page.
Daily Mirror	10/01/1914	8	Happy Even if it Snows	Nicholls	Small. Chamonix.
Daily Mirror	28/01/1914	3	A Ski-Car in the Chamonix Valley	Nicholls	Small.
Daily Mirror	27/05/1914	12-13	Derby Day as seen through famous Artists' Eyes: Some Familiar Figures	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Frith's 'Derby Day' and nine photos by Nicholls.
Daily Mirror	29/05/1914	6	Jubilant Americans Drink the Derby Winner's Health	Horace W. Nicholls	Three quarter page. Two photos.
Daily Mirror	01/06/1914	12-13	'Reflections' on the River., the favourite haunt of so many girls.	Nicholls	Double-page spread. Four photos by Nicholls.
Daily Mirror	03/08/1914	20	'Washed up by the Tide': A Pretty Seaside Study	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Daily Mirror	24/10/1914	6-7	The Barrier: Strip of Water which saves us from Invasion	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Part of Double-page spread.
Daily Mirror	14/11/1914	6	Lord Roberts Goes to the Front	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Taken in S. Africa.

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Daily Mirror	16/11/1914	10	Lord Roberts	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Cropped version of photo published two days earlier.
Daily Mirror	29/04/1915	1	Britannia	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Fundraising event in Ealing. Mrs. Frederick P. Swann was Britannia.
Daily Mirror	01/01/1916	16	A Happy New Year	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Daily Mirror	08/05/1916	4	George A. Nicholls	No credit	Small. Wounded in action.
Daily Mirror	13/06/1916	1	His Monument His Army – His Grave Our Unconquered Sea	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Front page illustration. Death of Lord Kitchener.
Daily Mirror	19/06/1916	6-7	'A Most Valuable Force': Lord French Reviews 10,000 London Volunteers	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Part of double-page spread.
Daily Mirror	11/08/1916	12	The Gleaner – In War Time	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
Daily Mirror	15/08/1916	12	It is the Same Boy and the Same Cap	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Two portraits of Sidney.
Daily Mirror	23/09/1916	6	Sir Frank Benson's Son Killed in Action	Horace W. Nicholls	Quarter page. UAVR.
Daily Mirror	26/09/1916	12	Tongue Longer than the Body	Supplied by Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Photo of a lizard – taken by Lt. Soundy

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
The Daily News	24/12/1906	9	How the 25 th of December is Celebrated in South Africa	H.W. Nicholls	Small.
The Daily News	09/04/1907	11	Bungalow Town	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Shoreham.
The Daily News	28/01/1908	11	A View of the Houses of Parliament as seen from the Surrey side of the River	Horace W. Nicholls	Small
Fry's Magazine	10/1911	1	A Nice Fish	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	11/1911	1	A Scene on Southwold Pier	Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	12/1911	1	Boulter's Lock in Summer and Winter	Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	12/1911	257	'A Bob Party at the Foot of Mont Blanc' and 'Ready to Start Down the Winding Run'	Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Illustrating article – 'The Snow and Ice Sports of Switzerland'.
Fry's Magazine	12/1911	258	A Start	Nicholls	Half page - Illustrating article – 'The Snow and Ice Sports of Switzerland'.
Fry's Magazine	12/1911	259	Taking in the First Turn down the Run to the Village in the Valley	Nicholls	Full page - Illustrating article – 'The Snow and Ice Sports of Switzerland'.
Fry's Magazine	12/1911	260	'Getting up Speed' and 'taking a Curve	Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Illustrating

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
			at a Mile a Minute'		article – 'The Snow and Ice Sports of Switzerland'.
Fry's Magazine	12/1911	261	'Turning Turtle' and 'A Spill'	Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Illustrating article – 'The Snow and Ice Sports of Switzerland'.
Fry's Magazine	01/1912	386	The Call of the Riviera	Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	02/1912	1	The Gleam of the Sea	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	02/1912	506	An Old Salt's Tale	Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	03/1912	1	Bonny Doon	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	03/1912	688	The Day's Work and After	Nicholls	Full page. Two photos.
Fry's Magazine	04/1912	1	Mother and Son	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	04/1912	13	Narcissus	Nicholls	Small
Fry's Magazine	05/1912	1	Sea-Birds and Surf	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	06/1912	1	The Shrimper	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	06/1912	344	The Summer Holiday of the Steeplechaser	Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Fry's Magazine	06/1912	365	A Familiar Type	H.W. Nicholls	Small
Fry's Magazine	07/1912	1	In a Quiet Backwater	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's	08/1912	1	A Maid of the Sea	H.W.	Full page. Cover

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Magazine				Nicholls	illustration.
Fry's Magazine	08/1912	581	Hurley – A Favourite Backwater	H. W. Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	08/1912	585	In Full Sail	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	08/1912	635	The Call of the Sea	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos. Southwold, Worthing and Sandown.
Fry's Magazine	09/1912	1	Just an English Girl	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	10/1912	1	The Wood Gatherer	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	10/1912	7	Mark! – The Cry of the Moors	Nicholls	Full page
Fry's Magazine	10/1912	32	Old Men of the Forest	Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Fry's Magazine	10/1912	51	Reverie	Nicholls	Full page. Isle of Wight.
Fry's Magazine	10/1912	78	A Shattered Giant	Nicholls	Small
Fry's Magazine	10/1912	150	A Burnham Patriarch	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	?/1912	229	When wrecks and beacons...	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
Fry's Magazine	12/1912	313	Some Winter Sights and Scenes	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of eight photos.
Fry's Magazine	12/1912	316	Love Laughs at Weather	H.W. Nicholls	Small
Fry's Magazine	12/1912	336	Christmas Sport	H.W. Nicholls	Two thirds page.

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Fry's Magazine	12/1912	343	Ice Sailing	H.W. Nicholls	Small.
Fry's Magazine	01/1913	1	A Happy New Year	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Fry's Magazine	01/1913	466-467	The Winding Stream in Rime and Snow	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Two photos.
Fry's Magazine	01/1913	475	Rhythm and Grace on the Ice	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	02/1913	560-561	February Foam and fury of the Coast	H.W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Collage of six photos.
Fry's Magazine	02/1913	587	The Moon on the Sea	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	?/1913	668	A Hero of the Steeplechase Goes into Retirement	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
Fry's Magazine	?/1913	693	Mr. D C R Stuart, the Famous Light Blue Stroke	H. W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
Fry's Magazine	?/1913	720	Golf 3,000 feet above the sea at Monte Carlo	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of six photos.
The Graphic	07/04/1906	1	A Typical Native Village in Natal	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Small.
The Graphic	07/04/1906	1	A Natal Kaffir Warrior and his Retinue	Horace W. Nicholls	Small
The Graphic	14/04/1906	480	Guardians of the Peace in Natal	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Small.
The Graphic	25/08/1906	245	Londoners by the Sea	Horace W.	Full page. Five photos. Margate,

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				Nicholls , Ealing	Ramsgate, Broadstairs, Dover and Worthing.
The Graphic	08/06/190 7	841	The Star and Garter, Richmond, to be Offered for Sale in August	Horace W. Nicholls	One third page. Two photos.
The Graphic	08/06/190 7	848	A Typical Derby Day Scene: Among the Coaches	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Graphic	15/06/190 7	875	The Only English Lady Competitor	H.W. Nicholls	Small. Dorothy Levitt.
The Graphic	29/06/190 7	945	Fashion at Ascot: The Crowd in the Paddock on Cup Day.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
The Graphic	29/06/190 7	950	Ascot Sunday on the River: The Crush at Boulter's Lock	Horace W. Nicholls , Ealing	Quarter page.
The Graphic	09/11/190 7	636	The Potato Harvest: A Labour-Saving Machine for Gathering the Crop	Horace W. Nicholls , Ealing	Half page. Collage of four photos
The Graphic	16/11/190 7	677	Where the King Entertains the Kaiser: Windsor Castle and its Surroundings	Horace W. Nicholls , Ealing	Half page. Collage of six photos.
The Graphic	30/05/190 8	740	Celebrating Empire Day	Nicholls	Two small photos – 'A Loyal Little Colonial' and 'A Daughter of Empire'.
The Graphic	06/06/190 8	?	?	?	Page missing from digitized copy.

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The Graphic	13/06/1908	820	Taplow Court, Maidenhead	H.W. Nicholls	Small.
The Graphic	20/06/1908	844	The King's Garden-Party	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
The Graphic	11/07/1908	39	The Varsity Match	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
The Graphic	11/07/1908	46	Miss Maud Allan	Nicholls	Small
The Graphic	01/08/1908	141	The Last Load: Bringing in the Hay on a Middlesex Farm	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	08/08/1908	161	The Climax of the Olympic Games	H.W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	19/09/1908	?	?	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
The Graphic	03/10/1908	388	The Finest Thoroughfare in Europe. A Crowd of Shoppers in Princes Street, Edinburgh.	H.W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Graphic	24/10/1908	504	A Study in Windsor Great Park: Carting the King's Timber	Horace W. Nicholls	One-third page.
The Graphic	05/12/1908	695	The Great Wall Game at Eton	No credit!	Full page. See The Graphic, 19/12/1908 p.774. 'Our large illustration of the Eton Wall Game which appeared in The Graphic of Dec. 5 was by Mr. Horace W. Nicholls'.
The	26/12/1908	799	The Awakening on	Horace	Half page. Two

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Graphic	8		Christmas Morning	W. Nicholls	photos.
The Graphic	26/12/1908	818	Wishing you all a very Happy New Year	Horace W. Nicholls	Small
The Graphic	16/01/1909	73	A Sunny Refuge from England's Winter	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. View of Nice.
The Graphic	20/02/1909	233	He Stoopsto Conquer: An Idyll on the Ice at Chamonix	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	27/02/1909	259	The Popularity of the Waterloo Cup	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of six photos. 'Photographed specially for 'The Graphic' by H.W.Nicholls'.
The Graphic	06/03/1909	291	Homeward Bound from the Land of Winter Sports	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Graphic	06/03/1909	299	Mr. D.C.R.Stuart	Nicholls	Small.
The Graphic	13/03/1909	333	The Quest of the Salmon	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	27/03/1909	397	A Chilly Washing Day at Volendam	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'Our special photographer'.
The Graphic	03/04/1909	429	A Dutch Belle and Her Beau	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Graphic	17/04/1909	499	By the Side of the Zuider Zee	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	17/04/1909	505	When Spring Unlocks the Flowers	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.

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The Graphic	01/05/1909	553	What Shall We Do with St Helena?	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Graphic	15/05/1909	637	Young Holland: A charming Head-dress from Volendam	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	29/05/1909	685	Empire Day in Hyde Park: Lord Roberts Saluting the Flags of our Over-Seas Dominions	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
The Graphic	29/05/1909	688	A Miniature Scout Saluting the Flag	H.W. Nicholls	Small. Empire DaY.
The Graphic	12/06/1909	765	The Most Beautiful Village on the Thames: Sonning and its Wisteria-Covered Cottages	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
The Graphic	19/06/1909	788-789	The English Church Pageant	H.W. Nicholls	Double page spread. Three photos by Nicholls.
The Graphic	19/06/1909	794	America Wins the Coaching Marathon	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
The Graphic	19/06/1909	799	The King and Queen Visit Royal Ascot	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
The Graphic	26/06/1909	840	Old Salts: A Study at Lowestoft	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Graphic	30/08/1919	289	Bathing by Moonlight	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	13/09/1919	358	'Over the Top': The Joy of Life on the Sussex Downs	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A photographic study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	17/01/1920	92	The Ingle-Neuk – A Study by Horace W.	Horace W.	Half page. Group photo of Nicholls

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			Nicholls	Nicholls	family.
The Graphic	17/04/1920	591	San Remo – Where the Allied Conference Assembles on Monday	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Photographic Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	19/06/1920	1001	The Call of the Country	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	02/10/1920	493	The Last Basket	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	15/01/1921	73	The Advance Guard: Amid the Alpine Snows	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	12/02/1921	191	Bathing in the Briny on the Radiant Riviera	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	19/02/1921	227	The Silent Sentinel of the Cote D'Azur	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos. 'Pictures by H.W.Nicholls'.
The Graphic	26/03/1921	371	Tittle-Tattle on the Balconies in Sunny Spain	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Camera Study by H.W.Nicholls'.
The Graphic	26/03/1921	374	The Shadow of the Cross: A Roadside Calvary for the Traveller in the Haute Savoie, Close to Argenterre	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	04/06/1921	665	An Eden for the Jaded Londoner. Charming Sylvan Haunts for City Holiday-Makers	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of seven photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The	18/06/1921	738-	The Allurements of	Horace	Double-page

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Graphic	1	739	the Stately Thames in the Summer Time: Charming Studies of the Lovely River Valley by Horace W. Nicholls	W. Nicholls	spread. Collage of seven photos.
The Graphic	30/07/1921	129	From School to Sea-Shore. Invasion of the Coast Holiday Haunts	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos. 'Exclusive to The Graphic'. Sandown, Frinton, Worthing and Southwold – Taken when?
The Graphic	30/07/1921	134-135	The Gathering of the White Wings for the Week at Cowes	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Collage of seven photos by Nicholls and four by Sport & General.
The Graphic	20/08/1921	215	A Summer Holiday in the Harvest Field	Horace Nicholls	Full page. 'A Photographic Study by Horace Nicholls'.
The Graphic	03/09/1921	274-275	The Crown of Summer on the Crown of Sussex Downs, Where England is Sweet	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. Collage of five photos. 'Photographic Studies by Horace w. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	10/09/1921	301	Spain's Bolt from the Blue: Pictures from the Moroccan Land of Disaster	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of seven photos.
The Graphic	24/12/1921	743	Bob-Sleighting at the Foot of Mont Blanc	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite. 'A Photographic Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.

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The Graphic	31/12/1921	771	Sport Amid the Snow-Capped Alps	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos. 'Photographic Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	28/01/1922	99	The Lure of the Lovely Riviera. Towns to which Tourists Flock.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos. 'Photographic Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	11/02/1922	155	The End of the Snow Season. How it was Enjoyed in the Alps	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos. 'Photographic Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Graphic	26/08/1922	319	Memorials of War Martyrs at Bruges. Captain Fryatt and other Victims of German Frightfulness	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos.
The Graphic	03/03/1923	299	The Colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers	Horace W. Nicholls Crown Copyright Reserved	Full page. Collage of three photos. Includes Charles ffoulkes. NB -'Crown Copyright Reserved'.
The Graphic	04/08/1923	177	A Beauty Spot in Greater London. The Picturesque Old Lock in its Lovely Sylvan Setting at Uxbridge	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Sidney, Gertrude and Violet?
The Graphic	28/11/1925	915	King Edward's Funeral: The Coffin Being Removed from the Gun-Carriage Outside St George's Chapel	Horace Nicholls	Half page. Death of Queen Alexandra.

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The Graphic	07/08/1926	222-223	A Summer Study on the Isle of Wight	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread. 'This pleasing photograph'. Tennyson's birthday on 6 August.
The Graphic	25/01/1930	133	Nelson Looks Down on Disarmament	Horace Nicholls	Full page. 'This beautiful photographic study was taken with a long-distance lens specially for 'The Graphic' by Mr. Horace Nicholls...'
The Graphic	13/06/1931	449	New and Old Riviera.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
The Graphic	20/02/1932	273	A Boer War Correspondent	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Edgar Wallace – Died 10 February.
Home Chat	06/06/1914	1	What Do Your Eyes Tell?	Horace Nicholls	Close up of Gladys Cooper's eyes as part of cover illustration.
Home Chat	29/08/1914	1	Miss Gladys Cooper	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Same cover as Woman's Own – 31/01/1914
Illustrated London News	01/06/1907	837	Idle Stamps on the Rand: The Great Strike of Gold-Miners in South Africa	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of six photos.
Illustrated London News	07/03/1908	350	Drolleries of the Nice Carnival	Horace Nicholls	Half page. Two photos.

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Illustrated London News	16/01/1909	101	Bovril Weather	No credit	Full page – advert for Bovril. Composite.
Illustrated London News	13/02/1909	247	Bovril	No credit	Small. Advert for Bovril.
Illustrated London News	27/02/1909	325	Bovril	No credit	Half page. Advert for Bovril.
Illustrated London News (Special Number)	24/05/1910	22	The Funeral Procession of King Edward VII	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated London News	28/05/1910	838	The Final Home-Coming: The Entry into Windsor Castle	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite.
Illustrated London News	28/05/1910	839	The Last Phase: The Coffin Borne into St. George's Chapel	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated London News	04/02/1911	169	On the Route of the Morocco Express: Pastoral Amidst Progress	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Ronda.
Illustrated London News	18/02/1911	227	The Waterloo Cup: Important Nominations for the Dogs' Derby	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. All other photos by Sport and General.
Illustrated London News	20/05/1911	740	The Historic Past of our Great Mother City. The Pageant of London at the Crystal Palace	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Other photos by Illustrations Bureau etc.
Illustrated London News	05/07/1913	19	The Colour of Grey London: A Gala Performance at	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. The King and Queen at the

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			Olympia		International Horse Show.
Illustrated London News	19/08/1922	284	Lace-Makers of Bruges	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	14/07/1906	?	Henley Regatta	Horace W. Nicholls . Ealing, W.	Pages missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/02/1907	951	Examining the keel of their boat at Richmond	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Cambridge boat crew.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	29/06/1907	?	The East and the West in the Paddock	H.W. Nicholls , Ealing, W.	Pages missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/10/1907	167	Views of Eton College	H.W.Nicholls, Ealing, W.	Half page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	26/10/1907	276	The King's Cattle Grazing in Windsor Great Park	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page. Collage of three photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	14/12/1907	624	Highland Cattle – A Scene in Middlesex	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-	Full page. Composite?

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				avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/12/1907	703	Christmas at Home and Abroad	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	08/02/1908	919	The Charms of the Riviera: Nice and Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Collage of two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	14/03/1908	63	Pigeon Shooting at Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	20/06/1908	635	The Annual Rush to the River: A June Sunday on the Thames	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Collage of two photos. Cookham and Boulter's Lock.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/06/1908	676	The Ascot Meeting. A View of the Royal Enclosure, Box, Stands, &c, Last week	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-	Half page.

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				avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	04/07/1908	723	Henley Station on a Regatta Day. The Arrival of a 'Special'.	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	04/07/1908	728	Henley Regatta – The Scenes from Henley Bridge and the Finishing Post	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Collage of two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/07/1908	772	Henley Regatta	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page. Montage.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/07/1908	775	A Sportsman's Home. Lord Desborough (President of the Olympic Games) and his Residence, Taplow Court	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Collage of two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/08/1908	890	Picnic on Trundle Hill, Goodwood.	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-	Half page.

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				avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	15/08/1908	962	Welcome Shade	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/11/1908	489	The Wall Game at Eton	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	12/12/1908	605	A Countryside Contrast – Summer Eve and Winter Morn	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/01/1909	725	Skating in Windsor Great Park.	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Composite. See Penny Pictorial 28/12/1912 p.210.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/01/1909	728	The Riviera Season – Views of Cannes and Mentone	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated	16/01/1909	807	A Famous Scotch	Horace	Half page.

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Sporting and Dramatic News	9		Golf Course – The Links at Prestwick	W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Collage of three photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/01/1909	885	The Riviera Season. The Pavilion at Monte Carlo.	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	06/02/1909	921	The Chamonix Winter Season	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	06/02/1909	165	On the Doon, Ayrshire	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	03/04/1909	167	Where France Joins Italy on the Riviera at Mentone.	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting	01/05/1909	325	The Old Molecatcher – Resetting the Trap	Horace W.	Half page.

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and Dramatic News				Nicholls , 9 Amhers t- avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/05/190 9	325	Volendamers	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A Study on the Zuyder Zee, by H. W. Nicholls'. NB. Credited under image.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/05/190 9	454	Epsom – The Stands on a Derby Day	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amhers t- avenue, Ealing	Half page. NOTE – Also on p.457 – missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/06/190 9	559	The College 'Backs' at Cambridge	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amhers t- avenue, Ealing	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	26/06/190 9	719	The Gold Cup Day at Ascot – A View of the Paddock Just before the Race	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amhers t- avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic	03/07/190 9	?	Settling Down for Lunch at Henley	Horace W. Nicholls , 9	Page missing from digitized copy.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
News				Amherst-avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	31/07/1909	927	The Most Beautiful English Racecourse – ‘Glorious Goodwood’	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/08/1909	1075	The Shrimper. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/09/1909	68	By a Highland Stream in Autumn	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Small.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/09/1909	55	A Breezy Day at the Pier Head	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Composite. ‘A study by H.W. Nicholls’.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	18/09/1909	91	Salmon Fishing on the Ayrshire Doon	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/10/1909	355	A Wild Duck Preserve	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Quarter page.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/11/1909	510	Eton Wall Game	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Small.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	04/12/1909	579	The Call of the Riviera. Some Studies by Horace W. Nicholls.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	29/01/1910	895	Winter in the Chamonix District – The Top of the Chamonix Run and the Luge Trailing on the Road	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	12/03/1910	52	Extending the Riviera Attractions – The New Hotel de Paris at Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/04/1910	343	A Son of Neptune. A study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	21/05/1910	451	A Veteran of Memories at Windsor Castle. Gunner Parsons.	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-	Quarter page.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
				avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	25/06/1910	?	Bayardo Refuses to Enter the Box	Horace W. Nicholls , Ealing	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/07/1910	?	The Temple	H.W. Nicholls	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	16/07/1910	828	The Holiday Season at Cliftonville	Horace W. Nicholls , Ealing	Half page. Composite.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/07/1910	931	The Morning Toil – The last Load	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/07/1910	?	Lawn of the Royal Yacht Club, Cowes	Horace W. Nicholls , 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	20/08/1910	1029	Deep Sea Sports	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos. Sandown, IOW. Composite (Ball)
Illustrated	27/08/1910	1073	The Home of the	H.W.	Full page. Collage

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Sporting and Dramatic News	0		Salmon and Trout: Fishing on the Doon in Ayrshire	Nicholls	of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/10/1910	181	North and South of the Border:	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos – ‘Studies by H.W.Nicholls’ Scottish hills and Fittleworth, Sussex.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	15/10/1910	259	A Scene in South Holland – Oude Beijerland	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	29/10/1910	367	By the Zuyder Zee	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos – ‘Studies by H.W.Nicholls’
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	12/11/1910	449	Afloat and Ashore. Studies by H.W. Nicholls	H.W.Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Holland.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	03/12/1910	605	The Quayside, Villefranche and Sunset on the Mediterranean Coast	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos, ‘Studies by Horace W. Nicholls’.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	17/12/1910	695	The Wood-Gatherer	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amherst.-av.	Half-page.
Illustrated	31/12/1910	770	Churning Up the	H.W.	Half page.

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Sporting and Dramatic News	0		Broken Snow on the 'Bob' Run at Chamonix	Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	31/12/1910	796	Gallantry Below Zero	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/01/1911	937	In the Maritime Alps.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'. Puget Theniers
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/03/1911	59	On Mediterranean Shores: La Via San Joseph, San Remo. The Old Town Mentone.	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	Credit on p.46 Two separate photos. Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	18/03/1911	97	Nice from Mount Boron	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/04/1911	323	By the Zuyder Zee – A Quiet Smoke	H.W. Nicholls , Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/05/1911	582	Scenes on Epsom Downs – Tattenham Corner and Luncheon Among the Motors.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Bottom composite. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'
Illustrated Sporting	27/05/1911	584	A Great Moment for the Derby Crowd	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. 'a study by H.W.Nicholls.'

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
and Dramatic News					Composite.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/06/191 1	693	Beauty Spots of the Thames	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'. Near Cookham Ferry and Sonning Bridge.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	24/06/191 1	805	The International Horse Show – Some Old-World Stables at Olympia	H.W. Nicholls , Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/07/191 1	843	On the Eve of the Coronation – Their Majesties Arriving at the International Horse Show	Horace W. Nicholls of Ealing	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/07/191 1	861	The Olympia Horse Show 'Coaching Marathon'. – Judge Moore Driving his Winning Team	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	Half page. Bushey Park.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/07/191 1	1007	The Thames Season. – The pathway to the Locks on the Lock Island, Cookham	H.W. Nicholls , Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	19/08/191 1	1167	With Other Than Heat Waves	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Composites, 'Seaside studies by H.W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic	02/09/191 1	?	Happy Days, Cliveden Steps	H. Nicholls 9	Credit on p. 12 Pages missing from digitized

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News				Amherst.-av.	copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	09/09/1911	74	'My Hat!' A Study of Dog-Day Millinery at Worthing	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Small
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	16/09/1911	93	Summer Holiday of the Steeplechaser. – Mr. P.A.O. Whitaker's Royston String at Southwold	H.W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst avenue, Ealing	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	14/10/1911	272	Salmon Waters. – An Angling Party Near Dalmellington, Ayrshire	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	14/10/1911	282	The Sea Angler	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/10/1911	370	On the Ayrshire Doon	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	25/11/1911	556	The Wall Game. - Loose Bully.	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Collage of six photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/12/1911	636	Lugeing at the Foot of Mont Blanc	H.W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst	Quarter page.

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				avenue, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	23/12/1911	753	A Merry Christmas	H.W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst avenue, Ealing	Full page. Cover illustration. Note – copy of advertising image.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/03/1912	30	At Chamonix	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amherst.-av.	Small.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	09/03/1912	63	Golf 3,000 Feet Above the Sea at Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos. 'Illustrations by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/03/1912	187	The Riviera Season. – In the Casino Gardens, Monte Carlo	H.W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst avenue, Ealing	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/04/1912	361	Grand National Winner	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	18/05/1912	505	The Fishergirl	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'
Illustrated Sporting and	18/05/1912	522	Screaming Gulls Over Mediterranean	Horace W Nicholls	Quarter page.

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Dramatic News			Waters	, Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/06/1912	616	Some Derby Day Contrasts	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amherst.-av.	Full page. Collage of six photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	08/06/1912	690	The College Backs at Cambridge	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amherst.-av.	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	29/06/1912	851	The Death of Sir George White, The Hero of Ladysmith	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Composite. General Whites HQ at Ladysmith.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	06/07/1912	897	Week-End Camping. – Scenes on the Banks of the Thames	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amherst.-av.	Full page
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	03/08/1912	1073	The Morning Dip	Horace Nicholls . 9 Amherst.-av. Ealing	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/08/1912	1123	Holland in East Anglia	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/12/1912	753	A Merry Christmas	Horace W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst.-av.	Full page. Cover illustration.

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				t-av. Ealing	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	04/01/1913	806	Lugeing at the Foot of Mont Blanc. – The Solo and the Duet	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. 'Photos by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/01/1913	841	The Ups and Downs of Ski-ing	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of eight photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/02/1913	949	The Riviera Season. – Round About Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of eight photos. 'From photographs by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	08/02/1913	989	At the Foot of Mont Blanc	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	Full page. Collage of six photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	15/03/1913	102	The Riviera Season. Villefranche Bay – Between Nice and Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls . Ealing	Three-quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/03/1913	147	An Evening on the Itchen in Early Spring	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'From a study near Winchester by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/03/1913	151	Spring Flowers. – A Scene in Sussex	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amhers t.-av.	Half page.

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Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	29/03/1913	189	Holland?	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	19/04/1913	829	A Spring Evening. – Eastcote, Near Harrow	H.W. Nicholls 9 Amherst.-av.	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	31/05/1913	620	Derby Day. – The Outlook from the Stands	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'. Composite?
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	21/06/1913	802	The International Horse Show at Olympia. -The Arab 'Feature' of 1913	Horace W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst.-av, Ealing	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/06/1913	?	International Horse Show	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	16/08/1913	1187	In Holland	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/08/1913	1263	Signs of Approaching Storm	Horace W. Nicholls	Three-quarters page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'. Composite?
Illustrated Sporting	06/09/1913	?	The River Girl	Horace W.	Page missing from digitized

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and Dramatic News	3			Nicholls . Ealing	copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	20/09/191 3	110	Authors and Actors on Holiday	H.W.Ni cholls	Full page. Collage of four photos. Gladys Cooper and Arthur Conan Doyle.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/10/191 3	217	The Game of the Four Seasons	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Composite. 'A study by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	20/12/191 3	723	Off the Track and Over the Bank. A Study of Chamonix by Horace W. Nicholls.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/12/191 3	777	Waiting for the Boats in the Chill December Dawn	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A study by Horace W. Nicholls'. Gladys Cooper.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/12/191 3	779	Trouble at Chamonix. – After a Spill	H.W. Nicholls . Ealing	Small.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	03/01/191 4	810	The Thrills and Spills of a Swiss Winter Holiday. Studies in the Chamonix Valley by H. W. Nicholls	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	17/01/191 4	?	The Stolen Summer on the Mediterranean Coast	Horace W. Nicholls	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated	31/01/191	945	Around Monaco	Horace	Full page. Collage

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Sporting and Dramatic News	4			W. Nicholls, Ealing	of three photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	31/01/1914	949	The Chamonix Season. – A 'Aero-Sledge Ski-Car' &c	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	25/04/1914	831	The Gossipers. – Scenes in Volendam	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	April?	302	?	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	23/05/1914	523	Preparing for the International Horse Show	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	30/05/1914	571	Not Altogether Rotten Row. – Preparing for the Horse Show at Olympia	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Half page. Tidworth
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	06/06/1914	625	Flight. – A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Composite.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	13/06/1914	665	Moonlight on Alum Bay, Isle of Wight	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'

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Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/08/1914	989	The Landing Steps of the Royal Squadron, Cowes	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Composite. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	08/08/1914	1036	Ready for a Dip. – Miss Gladys Cooper	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Composite. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	15/08/1914	1084	Holiday Golf – The Rendevous (sic)	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	15/08/1914	1084	Before the Cannon Thundered. Basketball on the Sands at Frinton-On-Sea	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	12/09/1914	33	What Would Nelson Have Said? – A Study of HMS Victory at Portsmouth by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	19/09/1914	61	K of K	H.W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing. W	Full page. Cover illustration. Kitchener. Composite.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	26/09/1914	97	The H.A.C. for the Front. – The Soldier Brother's 'Good-Bye'.	H.W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing.	Half page. George Nicholls?

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				W	
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/10/1914	152	Pleasure Yachts as Hospitals. – A Scene at _____ on our Coast	Horace Nicholls, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	24/10/1914	207	For Home Defence. – The United Arts Force Assembled for a Route March	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	14/11/1914	294	Queen Alexandra's Own. – The Gurkhas	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Collage of two photos. Composites.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	21/11/1914	322	Women's Part in Warfare. – Studies by Horace W. Nicholls.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	21/11/1914	335	The Late Lord Roberts, V.C.	H.W. Nicholls, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/12/1914	25	'Toilers of the Deep' – A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Christmas Number.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/02/1915	728	The Late Gunner Parsons. – A Windsor Veteran	Horace W. Nicholls, 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Small

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Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/02/1915	735	The Worthing Lifeboat	Horace W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Quarter page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	27/02/1915	743	On Mediterranean Shores	Horace W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst-avenue, Ealing	Full page, Collage of two photos. Villefranche and Mentone.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	06/03/1915	22	On the Riviera. – A footpath at Cap Californie, Cannes	Horace W. Nicholls . 9 Amherst-av, Ealing	Quarter page. Composite?
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	17/04/1915	174	The United Arts Rifles Crossing a Bridge of their Own Construction	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/06/1915	373	A Quiet Backwater. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls.	Horace W. Nicholls .	Full page. Cover illustration. Composite.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	26/06/1915	479	The Thames Valley. – Oxfordshire as Seen from Streatley Hills	H.W. Nicholls . Amherst avenue, Ealing.	Half page.

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Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/07/1915	525	Miss Effie Mann	Horace Nicholls, Hayes, Middlesex	Full page. Cover illustration. Composite. "when on a visit to the seaside recently". NB – Hayes address. Effie Mann was an actress.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/10/1915	126	The Strenuous 'Holiday' of 1915	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of six photos. UAVR at Churt
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	04/03/1916	8	The Twentieth-Century Soldier	H.W. Nicholls, Hayes End	Quarter page. George Nicholls?
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	04/03/1916	20	Mr. Fred Wright at Work with the United Arts Rifles	H.W. Nicholls, Hayes End	Small
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/06/1916	397	Kitchener?	?	Full page. Cover illustration. NB – Page missing from digitized copy.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/06/1916	416	Hugging the Coast. An East Coast Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/07/1916	481	The Colleen. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.

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Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/07/1916	583	The Old Tryst. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/08/1916	625	Sea Breezes	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	12/08/1916	663	The Holiday Season	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Composite. Effie Mann. 'From a Study by Horace W. Nicholls.'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/05/1917	269	Conscious Pride: King Charles and Airedale	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	02/06/1917	383	Come Unto these Yellow Sands	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'. Kodak Girl.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	18/08/1917	683	The Bonnie, Bonnie Heather	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite? 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	01/09/1917	1	Good Morning	H.W. Nicholls , Hayes, Middles ex	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and	01/12/1917	377	Volendam in Winter. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Composite?

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Dramatic News					
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	12/01/1918	593	The Pathway to the Village. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Background for 'Winter' in The Patrician 1913. See also 'The Footpath to the Church', The Bystander, 06/12/1911.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	21/02/1920	894	Traction Up-to-date at Chamonix	Horace W. Nicholls	Small
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/02/1921	?	?	?	See RPS Neg No.4566. Sept 1920 -Feb 1921 missing from digitized copies.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	17/09/1921	69	After the Doon Salmon	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	17/12/1921	571	At the Foot of Mont Blanc. A Study by H.W.Nicholls	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite?
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/02/1922	759	The Skiers. – Sunshine and Snow in the Chamonix Valley	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. 'A Study by Horace W. Nicholls'

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	10/06/1922	542	Where Their Majesties Spend Ascot Week. Views of Windsor Castle.	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/07/1922	767	The Shrimper. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	22/07/1922	782	The Charm of Goodwood	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of seven photos. Are some of these taken at The Derby?
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	05/08/1922	858-859	The Cowes Week. Spinnakers Spread their Wings on the Solent	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	19/08/1922	907	Silhouettes on the Sands. A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	09/09/1922	57	A Fair Disciple of Izaak Walton	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	11/11/1922	389	A Belgian 'Four-in-Hand'. – An Evening Scene Near Bruges	Horace W. Nicholls	Two-thirds page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic	10/02/1923	845	At the Top of the Luge Run. The Slopes of Mont Blanc in Distance	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.

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News					
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	16/06/1923	821	On the Road to Ascot – and the 'Golden Gates'. The Long Walk at Windsor	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	28/07/1923	195	The Home of the Gordon-Lennox Line: A Sunset Scene at Goodwood House	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'From a Study by Horace W. Nicholls'
Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	09/04/1932	63	Modern 'Catacombs': The Traffic Problem on the South Coast	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Underground car park in Hastings.
Lady's Pictorial	21/01/1911	97	The Charms of the Riviera	No credit	Full page. Collage of ten photos.
Lady's Pictorial	04/02/1911	175	The Riviera: From Hyeres to Bordighera	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of nine photos.
Lady's Pictorial	18/02/1911	251	Where Carnival is King: Scenes on the Riviera	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of nine photos.
Lady's Pictorial	29/07/1911	181	Goodwood: England's Most Beautiful Racecourse	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of nine photos.
Lady's Pictorial	19/08/1911	829	Sea Urchins	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
Lady's Pictorial	16/09/1911	468	The Shrimper	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'An art photograph by Horace W. Nicholls'.
Lady's Pictorial	07/10/1911	579	Sea Angling at Southwold	No credit	Full page. Collage of three photos.
The	10/1928	783	A typical English	Horace	Half page.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Landmark			Village	W. Nicholls	
Leeds Mercury	03/05/1907	8	Prince Fushimi's Visit	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	11	Winter	No credit	Full page. Composite.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	19	San Remo	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Twelve-page article – 'The Riviera'
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	20	Looking towards Cap Martin from Roquebrune	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	23	Where France and Italy meet on the Riviera, Mentone	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	24	Saint Raphael and its Harbour from the Sea	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	26	Street Scene in Puget-Theniers, a favourite excursion from Nice	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	28	In Bordighera	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	29	Nice Carnival	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Girl wearing protective mask.
The Patrician	Oct? 1913	46	Christmas – as it is usually pictured!	Nicholls	Full page. Opposite photo by Judge of London in the rain – 'Christmas – as we usually we see it!'

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Penny Illustrated Paper	17/11/1906	307	The Raggedy-Tag Brigade's Raid into Cape Colony	Nicholls	Quarter page
Penny Illustrated Paper	29/06/1907	415	The Last Load: The Haymaking Season	Nicholls	Small
Penny Illustrated Paper	20/07/1907	36	Children who Earned £50 for Charity	Nicholls	Two small photos. Steyne School.
Penny Illustrated Paper	21/09/1907	191	The Last of the Corn: A Field of Wheat Waiting for the Reaper	Nicholls	Small
Penny Illustrated Paper	28/09/1907	195	Blackmail and Murder	Nicholls	Small. Solly Joel.
Penny Pictorial	25/05/1912	515	Making Britain Beautiful	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos.
Penny Pictorial	06/07/1912	201	Dramatic Finishes at Henley	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Grand Challenge Cup, 1906.
Penny Pictorial	13/07/1912	241	A Typical Group of Seaside Minstrels	H. W. Nicholls	Half page
Penny Pictorial	13/07/1912	243	No caption (Pierrot)	Nicholls	Small.
Penny Pictorial	13/07/1912	276	The Humble Headquarters of Sir George White, the Heroic Defender of Ladysmith	H.W. Nicholls	Half page. Three-page article written by Nicholls – 'Keeping the Flag Flying: An Echo of Ladysmith'. Recent death of Gen White.
Penny Pictorial	13/07/1912	277	The Main Street, Ladysmith, at the Beginning of the	Nicholls	Half page. Alongside portrait of Nicholls taken

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			Boer War		by Rene Bull – not credited.
Penny Pictorial	13/07/1912	278	The Military Balloon which drew the First Boer Fire at Ladysmith	No credit	Quarter page.
Penny Pictorial	20/07/1912	1	No caption. Woman in the sea.	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Composite.
Penny Pictorial	27/07/1912	1	Telling Her the Old, Old Story!	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Penny Pictorial	03/08/1912	404	Camping Out by the Riverside – a delightful way of spending a holiday in fine weather	Nicholls	Half page.
Penny Pictorial	24/08/1912	1	Fall In and Follow Us	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Penny Pictorial	31/08/1912	13	A Charming Sea-Nymph, Caught by the Camera	Nicholls	Small.
Penny Pictorial	16/11/1912	439	The Red Cross	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Nurse – cut-out.
Penny Pictorial	16/11/1912	441	An Ambulance Wagon Discharging its Freight of Wounded During the Boer War	Nicholls	Half page.
Penny Pictorial	16/11/1912	442	This photograph, taken in South Africa during the Boer campaign, shows how public buildings are turned into hospitals during war-time	Nicholls	Half page.

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Penny Pictorial	16/11/1912	443	A light ambulance used for shifting the wounded to the train which waits to take them to the hospital at the base	Nicholls	Half page.
Penny Pictorial	21/12/1912	121	Xmas Greetings and Best Wishes for a Lucky 1913	Nicholls	Full page. 'Sail skating'.
Penny Pictorial	21/12/1912	145	Anticipation - Realisation	Nicholls	Full page. Two photos. Christmas morning.
Penny Pictorial	28/12/1912	210-211	Christmas in England – Christmas in South Africa	Nicholls	Double-page spread. Two photos.
Penny Pictorial	05/04/1913	201	Buildings wrecked by a dynamite explosion which occurred a mile and a half away	Nicholls	Half page. Three-page article about explosions. 1896 explosion near Johannesburg
Penny Pictorial	05/04/1913	202	Some of the wrecked trucks after the dynamite explosion near Johannesburg	Nicholls	Half page
Penny Pictorial	05/04/1913	203	The huge pit dug in a moment by a dynamite explosion near Johannesburg	Nicholls	Half page.
Penny Pictorial	10/05/1913	1	No caption - Windmill	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Penny Pictorial	07/06/1913	60	Derby – Results Board, Winning Post and Starting Post	Nicholls	Half page. Three photos.
Penny Pictorial	07/06/1913	61	'Here They Come!'	Nicholls	Full page. Grand Stand at Epsom.
Penny Pictorial	28/06/1913	1	No caption – Woman on steps of a bathing	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.

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			machine		
Penny Pictorial	05/07/1913	220	Glorious Henley: The Royal barge about to pass under Henley Bridge last year and Greeting the King and Queen	Nicholls	Two-thirds page. Two photos.
Penny Pictorial	23/08/1913	1	No caption – Woman swimmer	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Penny Pictorial	20/12/1913	121	The Editor Wishes his Readers Everywhere a Merry Christmas and A Happy New Year	Nicholls	Full page. Ice Skating.
Penny Pictorial	Undated	103	'King of the Castle'	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Penny Pictorial	Undated	93	'Come and Join Me!' cried Sabine	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Penny Pictorial	Undated	73	'A Bright, Happy Little Girlie'	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Penny Pictorial	18/04/1914	1	No caption. Women near groynes	Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Penny Pictorial	06/06/1914	60-61	Preparing for the Horse Show	Nicholls	Double-page spread. Five photos.
Penny Pictorial	20/06/1914	121	The Royal Procession Driving up the Course at Ascot	Nicholls	Half page. Three-page article on Royal Ascot.
Penny Pictorial	20/06/1914	122	Lord Rosebery and his son, Lord Dalmeny, wearing the coveted badges which admit them to	Nicholls	Half page.

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			the enclosure at Ascot		
Penny Pictorial	20/06/1914	123	The Finish of the Gold Cup in 1907	Nicholls	One third page.
Penny Pictorial	28/11/1914	31	A Busy Quay in Rotterdam, a Port which Germany Regards with Covetous Eyes	Nicholls	Half page.
The Quiver	01/1909	20	The Visit of Santa Claus on Christmas Eve	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Tableau.
The Sketch	10/07/1907	417	The Belgians Take the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley	Horace Nicholls	Half page.
The Sketch	02/10/1907	392	The Alleged Attempt to Blackmail Mr. Solly Joel	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
The Sketch	2712/1911	359	Where the Fickle Goddess is Wooed: Monte Carlo	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of eleven photos.
The Sketch	10/07/1912	4	Henley Salutes the King and Queen for the First Time	Horace Nicholls	One-third page
The Sketch	02/07/1913	393	Foreigners Over the Fences: Officers Riding at Olympia	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of four photos.
The Sketch	?	96	?	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
The Sketch	29/10/1913	111	We Shall Expect a Mangold-Wurzel Portrait Next	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Burnham Beeches.
The Sphere	27/08/1904	190	Princess Christian's Sad Mecca	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Grave of Prince Christian Victor, Pretoria.

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				, Ealing	
The Sphere	30/06/1906	295	The Lively Scene at Boulter's Lock	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page.
The Sphere	14/07/1906	31	Christ's College Cambridge beating Kingston for the Thames Challenge Cup at Henley	Horace W. Nicholls	One third page.
The Sphere	28/07/1906	72	The Crowded Craft at the Regatta at Molesey	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
The Sphere	01/09/1906	189	Worthing – The Nursery 'Mafficking'	Horace W. Nicholls	Small
The Sphere	29/09/1906	275	Back from the Holidays – Eton, which once more resounds with boyish voices	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Sphere	10/11/1906	121	The Abandonment of St. Helena by its Garrison	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Sphere	23/03/1907	250	House Built by the Boers – Opened Yesterday by Anglo-Dutch Parliament	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
The Sphere	01/06/1907	185	Black Labour – Some types of the 'boys'	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Main photo by Stanley Nicholls.
The Sphere	15/06/1907	233	The Scene When the Oaks Was Being Run	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Two photos. Composite?
The Sphere	29/06/1907	?	Boulter's Lock	?	Page missing from digitized

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					copy.
The Sphere	06/07/1907	8	A Shower on the Opening Day/ The Radley Club Watching a Race	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Two small photos.
The Sphere	13/07/1907	31	The Grand Challenge at Henley – Won by Belgium	Horace W. Nicholls	Three-quarter page.
The Sphere	10/08/1907	121	At Goodwood – Mrs Langtry and a friend. The Duchess of Devonshire and Sam Darling	Horace W. Nicholls	Two small photos.
The Sphere	07/09/1907	229	The Townsfolk's Exodus to the Sea	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Three photos. Broadstairs, Ramsgate and Margate.
The Sphere	16/11/1907	139	What the Emperor is Seeing at Windsor	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Collage of eight photos. Visit of the Kaiser.
The Sphere	18/01/1908	55	Boulter's Lock as it is and as it Looks in the Summer-Time	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Small.
The Sphere	18/01/1908	55	Skaters at Bourne End Last Sunday	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Half page.
The Sphere	07/03/1908	202	Cars in the Gay Carnival at Nice	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Three photos.
The Sphere	27/06/1908	259	The Brilliant Scene at Ascot on Cup Day	Horace W. Nicholls, Ealing	Full page.

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The Sphere	21/11/1908	?	Eton War Memorial Hall	?	Page missing from digitized copy.
The Sphere	26/12/1908	273	The Sunny Riviera – A Contrast to London	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Four photos. Villefranche, Nice, Monte Carlo and Mentone.
The Sphere	28/05/1910	263	The Passing of King Edward. The Scene in front of St George's Chapel	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Sphere	05/10/1912	20-21	'We are Seven' – Little Maidens of the Zuyder Zee	Horace Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Sphere	07/02/1914	161	Count De Lesseps in his Wonderful Motor Sleigh	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Sphere	05/02/1921	137	A Stolen Mediterranean Summer – Golden Sunshine in the Midst of Winter	Horace Nicholls	Full page. Mentone. See RPS Negs 4569 and 4571.
The Sphere	02/05/1936	207	Welcome, Pale Primrose, starting up between Dead Matted Leaves of Ash and Oak	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. 'Study by Horace W. Nicholls'
The Sunday at Home	1914	483	Narcissi and Silver Birches at Burnham Beeches	Nicholls	Full page.
The Sunday at Home	1914	485	An Aisle of Beech Trees in the Famous Finche's Avenue, near Chandler's Cross, Herts	Nicholls	Half page.
The Sunday at	1914	653	A Scene in Kew Gardens	Nicholls	Quarter page.

PUBLICATION	DATE	PAGE	CAPTION	CREDIT	NOTES
Home					
The Sunday at Home	1914	657	Chanctonbury Ring, on the South Downs, Sussex	Nicholls	Small.
The Sunday at Home	1914	733	A Son of East Anglia: An Old Mole-catcher	Nicholls	Half page
Sunday Pictorial	11/04/1915	5	Singer Shoots	Nicholls	Small. Plunket Greene with the UAVR.
Sunday Pictorial	19/12/1915	20	Busy on Government Work	H.W. Nicholls	Small. UAVR
Sunday Pictorial	18/06/1916	6	Emile Cammaerts with the UAVR	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
Sunday Pictorial	06/08/1916	9	Going out to Sea. A Happy Snapshot from the Seaside	Horace W. Nicholls	Small.
Sunday Pictorial	13/08/1916	16	A Soliloquy on a Lonely Beach	Horace W. Nicholls	Small. Kodak Girl.
The Tatler	25/11/1903	285	The Accident to Lord Kitchener in India	Horace Nicholls, Ealing	Full page. Composite.
The Tatler	11/07/1906	20	The Social Side of Henley	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos.
The Tatler	24/04/1907	66	Prince Fushimi and Members of the Imperial Suite who are now in Paris	H.W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
The Tatler	10/07/1907	27	The Two Henleys. – A Remarkable Study in Contrasts	Horace W. Nicholls	Half page. Two photos.
The Tatler	17/07/1907	49	At the Eton and Harrow Match	Horace W.	Full page. Lord's cricket ground.

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				Nicholls	
The Tatler	23/10/1907	86	The Cottage was a Thatched One	H.W.Nicholls	Small. Maidenhead.
The Tatler	17/06/1908	301	Scenes at Royal Ascot	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos.
The Tatler	17/06/1908	305	The Opening of the River Season: A Typical Sunday Morning Scene at Boulter's Lock	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Tatler	01/07/1908	15	The Greatest River Carnival: Scenes at Henley Regatta	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.
The Tatler	08/07/1908	37	Scenes at Glorious Henley	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of five photos.
The Tatler	29/07/1908	101	A Recent Photograph of Lord Lonsdale	H.W. Nicholls	Small.
The Tatler	29/07/1908	110	The Duke of Richmond and Lord Marcus	Horace W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
The Tatler	26/08/1908	viii	Holding the Fort: A Study by Horace W. Nicholls	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos.
The Tatler	09/09/1908	viii	The Diver: Going, Going, Gone!	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Collage of three photos. 'Studies by Horace W. Nicholls'.
The Tatler	24/09/1913	145	Companions of the Bath: Miss Gladys Cooper and Mr. Sea-	Horace Nicholls	Full page. Collage of two photos.

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			Mour Hicks		
The Tatler	22/08/1923	695	In the Doon Valley	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Tatler	03/10/1923	34	Down on the Farm	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Tatler	03/10/1923	43	A Study in Autumn Sombreness	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Tatler	01/12/1923	81	The Snow Artist	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Tatler	01/12/1923	83	A Christmas 'Shoot' – Snow Variety	Horace W. Nicholls	Quarter page.
The Tatler	30/08/1933	405	This England – This Blessed Plot!	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Two photos.
The Tatler	20/09/1933	543	Gaffed! – Salmon Fishing on the Ayrshire Doon	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
The Tatler	08/11/1933	247	November 11 – Lest We Forget	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
The Tatler	15/04/1936	103	A Temple whose Transepts are Measured by Miles: The Grand Avenue, Savrenake	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. 'photographic study'.
The Tatler	20/01/1937	118-119	The Bleak Days of Winter: Highland Cattle on a Southron Farm	Horace W. Nicholls	Double-page spread.
The Tatler	02/06/1937	440	The Gipsies of Epsom Downs	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Composite.

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The Tatler	18/08/1937	305	Rondel of Two Old Fishermen	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page.
Woman's Own	11/10/1913	1	No caption. Portrait of a young girl	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.
Woman's Own	29/11/1913	1	No caption. Portrait of a young child	No credit	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.
Woman's Own	21/03/1914	1	No caption. Portrait of a young boy	No credit	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.
Woman's Own	10/01/1914	1	No caption. Ice skaters	No credit	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.
Woman's Own	31/01/1914	1	No caption. Gladys Cooper and her daughter	Horace W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration.
Woman's Own	11/04/1914	1	No caption. Baby in a large egg - Easter	No credit	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.
Woman's Own	30/05/1914	1	No caption. Portrait of a young girl	No credit	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.
Woman's Own	24/10/1914	1	Tommy's Heroine	H.W. Nicholls	Full page. Cover illustration. Cut-out.

